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LIFE

OF

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE,

FOUNDER OF THE UNITED IRISH SOCIETY,

AND

ADJUTANT GENERAL AND CHEF DE BRIGADE IN THE SERVICE OF THE FRENCH AND BATAVIAN REPUBLICS.

Written by himself, and continued by his Son; with his Political Writings, and Fragments of his Diary, whilst Agent to the General and Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland, and Secretary to the Delegation who presented their Petition to his Majesty George III.

HIS MISSION TO FRANCE:

With a complete Diary of his Negotiations to procure the aid of the French and Batavian Republics, for the Liberation of Ireland; of the Expeditions of Bantry Bay, the Texel, and of that wherein he fell. Narrative of his Trial, Defence before the Court Martial, and Death.

Edited by his Son,

WILLIAM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE:

With a brief account of his own Education and Campaigns under the Emperor Napoleon.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni.
Pharsalia, Lib. 1, Verse 128.

VOL. I.

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DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *to wit:*

BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the second day of March, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six, and of the Independence of the United States of America the fiftieth, WILLIAM THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, of the said District, has deposited in this office the title of a Book, the right whereof he claims as Author, in the words following, to wit:

"Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, founder of the United Irish Society, and Adjutant General and Chef de Brigade in the service of the French and Batavian Republics; written by himself, and continued by his Son: with his Political Writings, and Fragments of his Diary, whilst Agent to the General and Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland, and Secretary to the Delegation who presented their Petition to his Majesty George III. His Mission to France; with a complete Diary of his Negotiations to procure the aid of the French and Batavian Republics for the Liberation of Ireland; of the Expeditions of Bantry Bay, the Texel, and of that wherein he fell. Narrative of his Trial, Defence before the Court Martial, and Death. Edited by his Son, William Theobald Wolfe Tone; with a brief account of his own Education and Campaigns under the Emperor Napoleon. In two volumes. Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni. Pharsalia, Lib. 1, verse 128."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, entitled "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned;" and, also, to the act, entitled "An act supplementary to an act, entitled 'An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts, and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned,' and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

L. S.

IN TESTIMONY WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand, and affixed the public seal of my office, the day and year aforesaid.

EDMUND I. LEE,
Clerk of the District of Columbia.

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INTRODUCTORY PREFACE,

BY THE EDITOR.

IN publishing the life, works, and memoirs of my father, I owe some account of the motives which engaged me to delay their appearance to the present day, and to produce them at this moment. These memoirs were never destined for the public; they were written for one or two friends, now no more, and for his family, of which my mother and myself are now the sole survivors. His pen, which always flowed with light and easy grace, was, of course, allowed to run in these careless memorandums with the utmost effusion and *abandon* of soul; they exhibit his every passing feeling on every occasion, and are sometimes as severe on the failings and weaknesses of his own party, and of those to whom he was most warmly and sincerely attached, and for whom he sacrificed the brilliant prospects of his youth, and, at length, his life, as on their adversaries. Of course, whilst the interests in which he was engaged were yet alive, numbers, and some of them unsuspected at the time, might have been dangerously compromised, or seriously hurt, by this publication. In his latter days, when he anticipated, with the deepest despondency, the probable failure of his hopes, he used sometimes to exclaim, "Thank God! no man has ever been compromised by me." Young as I was at the time, I was brought up by my surviving parent in all the principles and in all the feelings of my father.

But, now, one quarter of a century is more than elapsed, and repeated revolutions have altered the political face of the world. The founder of the United Irish Society, the first of his countrymen who called on the people to unite, without discrimination of faith, for the independence of their country, has sealed, with his blood, the principles which he professed. His contemporaries, the men with whom he thought and acted,

are mostly sunk in the grave; those who survive, are either retired from public life, or engaged in different pursuits; the very government against which he struggled, exists no more; and the country whose liberty he sought to establish, has lost even that shadow of a national administration, and has sunk into a province of England. I cannot think that the publication of these memoirs, at the present day, can injure the prospects, or endanger the peace of any living being. His few surviving friends, and even his opponents, can only look on those relics with feelings of fond recollection, for one of the most amiable, affectionate, and gentle-hearted of men—a man of the purest and sincerest principles and patriotism, (whatever may be deemed, according to the reader's opinions, of the soundness of his views,) and of the most splendid talents. It is, besides, a tribute which I owe to his memory, and a sacred duty, believing, as I do, that, in the eyes of impartial and uninterested posterity, they will be honorable to his character; that they throw a most interesting light on the political situation and history of Ireland, and that even yet, and in its present state, the views which they contain, may be of some use to that country for which he died, and for which, though an exile from my infancy, I must ever feel the interest due to my native land.

Another motive which has determined me to bring out this work at present, is the late publication of some fragments of it, (an auto-biography of my father) in the London New Monthly Magazine, a publication entirely unexpected by me, as I have never had any acquaintance or correspondence with the Editors of that paper. As I possess, and now republish, the original manuscript from whence they are taken, I must do these gentlemen the justice to give my testimony in favor of their accuracy, and, with the exception of a few trifling mistakes, very pardonable at such a distance of time, and which shall be rectified in the present work, to thank them for the liberality of their comments and observations. The character of these notes, and the very appearance of this biographical sketch, at this time, and in England, convinces me that my father's name is not yet quite forgotten, and is still respected, even in the country of his adversaries. The amiability of his personal character, secured him, indeed, even during his life time, and amidst all the rancour of political animosity, the rare advan-

tage of preserving the friendship of many valuable and illustrious individuals, who were opposed to him in principles. He scarcely had a personal enemy, unless, perhaps, we except the Chancellor Fitzgibbon, (Lord Clare) and the Hon. George Ponsonby, who agreed in this point alone. His spirit could never stoop to the petulant insolence of the one, nor to the haughty dullness of the other. But I have never seen his name mentioned in any history of the times without respect and regret. I cannot, therefore, believe that even the most zealous partizans of the British Government would have the weakness at this time and distance, to feel any objection to the publication of these writings.

Although the character of TONE, and his political principles, will be best developed in his own works, yet his son may be allowed to give way to some of his feelings on this subject. His image is yet blended with the recollections of my infancy. To the soundest judgment and most acute penetration in serious business, he joined a most simple and unaffected modesty, and the most perfect disinterestedness; no human breast could be more free from the meaner passions, envy, jealousy, avarice, cupidity; and often oblivious of himself, he delighted in the fame and glory of others. Injuries he easily forgot; kindness, never. Though his constitution was nervous and sensitive to a very high degree, he was naturally of a most cheerful temper, and confiding, unsuspicious, and affectionate heart. Indeed, few men have enjoyed so completely the happiness of loving and of being beloved. His wife and family he perfectly adored; and the circle of his intimate friends, of those who were really and devotedly attached to him, comprised men of the most opposite parties and descriptions. His character was tinged with a vein of chivalry and romance; and lively, polite, and accomplished, his youth was not entirely free from some imprudence and wildness. He was fond of pleasure, as well as of glory, but the latter feeling was always, in him, subservient to principle, and his pleasures were pure and elegant, those of a simple taste and brilliant fancy and imagination, music, literature, field sports, and elegant society and conversation, especially that of amiable and accomplished women, with whom he was a universal favorite. His musical and literary taste was of the most cultivated delicacy, and the charms of his conversa-

tion, where a natural and national vein of wit and feeling flowed without effort or affectation, were indescribable. But, though formed to be the delight of society, the joys of home and domestic life were his real element. He was the fondest of husbands, of fathers, of sons, of brothers and of friends. In the privacy of his modest fireside, the liveliest flow of spirits and of feeling was never interrupted by one moment of dullness or of harshness, and it was the happiest of retreats.

His success in the world was astonishing, and owing almost as much to the amiability of his character and social qualities, as to his extraordinary talents. Risen from an obscure birth, and struggling with poverty and difficulties, his classical triumphs and acquirements at the University were of the highest order. On entering afterwards into life, he supported his father and numerous family, by his sole efforts, and rose not only to independence and fame, but was received as a favorite in the first aristocratic circles, even before he engaged in politics. Amongst the illustrious families and characters with whom he was familiarly acquainted, and who certainly yet remember his name with affection, were the Duke of Leinster, Lord Moira, and his noble and princely mother, the Hon. George Knox and Marcus Beresford, Plunkett, Grattan, Curran, Hamilton Rowan, P. Burrowes, Sir Laurence Parsons, Emmett, C. Bushe, Whitley Stokes, &c. and all the heads of the Irish bar and society. I have already observed, that, however opposed to many of them in politics, and when he was become a marking leader, and most obnoxious to the government, he preserved their affection. And when, after Jackson's trial, he lay under a kind of proscription, they gave him noble and generous proofs of it.

His success in politics was no less wonderful. When he wrote his first pamphlet in favor of the Catholics, (the Northern Whig) he was not acquainted with a single individual of that religion, so complete at that period was the distinction marked in society between the several sects. In a few months he was the prime mover of their councils, and accomplished the union between them and the dissenters of the North.

His political principles will of course be blamed or approved, according to those of the reader. During his lifetime, some regarded him as a fanatical democrat and furious dema-

gogue, whilst others in his own party accused him of haughtiness in his manner, and aristocratical prejudices. The fact is, that, though he preferred in theory a republican form of government, his main object was to procure the independence of his country under a liberal administration, whatever might be its form or name. His tastes and habits were rather aristocratical for the society with which he was sometimes obliged to mingle. I believe that, in reading these memoirs, many people will be surprized at (and some perhaps will blame) the moderation of his views. The persecutions of the government drove him much further than he purposed at first. But, from their fair and impartial perusal, none can possibly rise, without being convinced of his purity and patriotism, whatever they may deem of his wisdom and foresight. No man who ever engaged so deeply and so earnestly in so great a cause, was so little influenced by any motives of personal ambition, or so disinterestedly devoted to what he thought the interest of his country.

In opening these pages it should also be remembered, that the situation and political organization of Ireland at that period, were totally different, both from what they had been before and from what they have fallen to since. She possessed, at that precise moment, a separate government, and a national legislature, nominally independent; my father never considered himself as an Englishman, nor as a subject of Great Britain, but as a native and subject of the kingdom of Ireland, most zealously and passionately devoted to the rights, the liberties, and glory of his country.

At the epoch of the American war (1782) the unguarded state of that Island, the efforts of the patriots in its legislature, and the simultaneous and formidable rising of the volunteers, whilst England was exhausted by that fruitless contest, had wrung from the British Government the reluctant acknowledgment of its independence. This period was brief and glorious. With the first dawn of liberty, she took a new spring and began to flourish by her natural resources; the spirit of her people reviving with her commerce, industry, and manufactures. But this dawn was soon overcast by the corruption of her government, and the bigoted intolerance of the ruling Protestant ascendency; the former carried to the most open profligacy, and the latter to the most besotted blindness. My object is not to

write a history, nor to anticipate what my father has urged with such force and eloquence in the following works and memoirs; but, had the Irish legislature, who recovered their independent rights, had the liberality to emancipate their Catholic brethren, and allowed them to participate in the benefits of free and equal citizenship; and had the volunteers admitted them into their ranks, England would never have recovered the power which she had lost. It would be a curious, but at this day a very vain speculation to calculate what those two independent but allied kingdoms might have risen to, cultivating their separate means under one sovereign and with one interest.

This wakening of the spirit of liberty, roused, however, from their long slumber of slavery, the oppressed and degraded Catholics; who, by a strange anomaly, forming the original population of the country and the mass of the people, were, at that period, and are still in some respects, aliens in their native land. Their first steps were weak and timid, but their progress was inconceivably rapid; those of the present day in reading these memoirs, and other works of the same time, will scarcely believe that their fathers could ever have been degraded to such a state; and with what trembling, doubts, and hesitation, they first opened their eyes to the dawn of freedom, and directed their first tottering steps in its career. My father was the first Protestant who engaged in their cause to its whole length, and experienced the greatest difficulty, in the beginning, to rouse them, if not to a sense of their wrongs, at least to the spirit of expressing them.*

But these efforts, by which the whole Island began shortly to heave to her foundations, alarmed the jealousy of that party who monopolized all the power and property of the country. To secure the support of England, they sacrificed its prosperity, honor, and independence, and the British ministry, with patient discretion, awaited the result; they gave all their means and aid to strengthen the Irish administration, and allowed it to render itself as odious as possible, and to destroy, by its

*It is a remarkable fact that most of the leaders of the United Irishmen who perished in the civil war were Protestants. Tone, Emmett, Russel, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, &c. Of the twenty prisoners in Fort George, four only were Catholics.

cruelty and insolence, in the hearts of the people, all affection for their national government. No other arms but those of corruption, were used by England against the independence of Ireland, for its own administration took on itself all the odium of its tyranny, and all the task of reducing the people to slavery. The distant King and Parliament of England were, on the contrary, often solicited as mediators by the oppressed and miserable Irish. It was this government and this party, against which the animosity and attacks of my father were directed ; it was the *Irish* government which he sought to overturn by uniting the divided factions of the people. His resentment against England was a secondary and incidental passion ; it arose from her support of those abuses. He long endeavored, by legal and constitutional means, and even by soliciting the British monarch and government, to effect that reform ; nor was it till all his hopes proved fruitless from that quarter, that he determined on attempting, by any means, the separation of the two countries.

As for the Irish administration, England reaped the fruits of her policy. It became so corrupt and so infamous that it could no longer stand, and finally its members bartered the existence of their country as a nation, for a paltry personal compensation to themselves. It was the cheapest bargain England ever drove. Was it the wisest? Instead of using her influence to reorganize that wretched government, to give it strength and popularity, by emancipating the people and attaching them to their institutions, she chose to absorb Ireland in her own sphere, and efface it from the list of nations. But that execrable administration, in disappearing from existence, left, as a pernicious legacy behind it, all its abuses, confirmed, rooted in the soil, and now supported by the direct and open authority of the British monarch, laws, parliament, and constitution. The union and incorporation of the two countries was but nominal, and the mass of the Irish population participated neither in the benefits nor privileges of the British institutions.

This was a wretched and narrow policy. Instead of encouraging, by every means in its power, the industry and the mental and physical resources of Ireland, and thus adding to the general mass of wealth and information of the whole empire, a petty jealousy of her competition with the trade and

manufactures of England has always engaged the government of the latter country, to keep down and crush, in every possible way, the natural spring and spirit of the Irish.

Whether England has gained much by the union, time will show. The ministry has gained a clear reinforcement of 100 votes in Parliament, for no Irishman will ever consider himself as an Englishman; and whilst his own country is miserable and enslaved, what earthly motive but his own interest can influence him in questions which regard merely the liberties or interests of England? The people show no symptoms of attachment or loyalty to their new masters; and for what should they be loyal? For six hundred years of slavery, misrule, and persecution! Ireland must be guarded at the same expense, and with the same care as formerly, and is rather a heavy clog on the powers and means of Great Britain, than a support and an addition to them. Nor is it absolutely impossible that, if some ambitious and unprincipled monarch hereafter mounts the throne, he may find in the Irish Catholics, of whom the mass will be brutalized by misgovernment, and rendered ignorant and ferocious, very proper instruments for his designs. They have no reason to admire, nor to be attached to the British constitution, and would follow the call of Satan himself, were he to cheer them on to revenge—and who could blame them?

But I must not lose myself in dissertations which do not concern my subject. For in my father's time no one dreamt of that union; and his most violent adversaries, the most furious upholders of the Protestant ascendency, would have been most indignant at such a suggestion. Had it been prematurely proposed, they would, perhaps, have joined with their adversaries rather than have listened to it. The only conclusion which I wish to draw from these premises, is, that England, by dissolving that Irish government, has fully confirmed the charges adduced against it, and my father's opinion of it; and till the abuses which it supported, and which have survived its fall, are corrected, till that monopoly is removed, by which all the rights and powers of citizenship and sovereignty are usurped by a favored minority, whilst the remainder of the population groans in slavery, Ireland, either under a separate and national administration, or as a province of Great Britain, will ever remain in an unnatural state of anarchy and misery, unable to culti-

vate her resources, either for own benefit, or even for that of her masters.

I shall close this preface with a single remark. The only liberties which I have taken with the following memoirs in preparing them for the press, were to suppress a few passages relative to family affairs, which concern nobody, and the account of some early amours, which my father, though a little wild in his youth, was too much of a gentleman to have allowed to appear, and which it would ill become his son to revive at this day.

LIFE

OF

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE,

PREVIOUS TO HIS MISSION TO FRANCE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

"Nil Desperandum."

PARIS, *August* 7, 1796.

AS I shall embark in a business, within a few days, the event of which is uncertain, I take the opportunity of a vacant hour to throw on paper a few memorandums, relative to myself and my family, which may amuse my boys, for whom I write them, in case they should hereafter fall into their hands.

I was born in the city of Dublin, on the 20th of June, 1763. My grandfather was a respectable farmer near Naas, in the county of Kildare. Being killed by a fall off a stack of his own corn, in the year 1766, his property, being freehold leases, descended to my father, his eldest son, who was, at that time, in successful business as a coachmaker. He set, in consequence, the lands which came thus into his possession, to his youngest brother, which, eventually, was the cause of much litigation between them, and ended in a decree of the Court of Chancery, that utterly ruined my father; but of that hereafter. My mother, whose name was Lamport, was the daughter of a captain of a vessel in the West India trade, who, by many anecdotes which she has told me of him, was a great original; she had a brother who was an excellent seaman, and served as first lieutenant on board of the Buckingham, commanded by Admiral Tyrrel, a distinguished officer in the British service.

I was their eldest son; but, before I come to my history, I must say a few words of my brothers. William, who was born in August, 1764, was intended for business, and was, in consequence, bound apprentice, at the age of fourteen, to an eminent bookseller. With him he read over all the voyages he could find, with which, and some military history, he heated an imagination naturally warm and enthusiastic, so much, that, at the age of sixteen, he ran off to London, and entered, as a volunteer, in the East India Company's service; but his first essay was very unlucky; for, instead of finding his way out to India, he was stopped at the Island of St. Helena, on which barren rock he remained in garrison for six years, when, his time being expired, he returned to Europe. It is highly to his honor, that, though he entered into such execrable society as the troops in the Company's service must be supposed to be, and at such an early age, he passed through them without being affected by the contagion of their manners or their principles. He even found means, in that degraded situation and remote spot, to cultivate his mind to a certain degree, so that I was much surprised, at our meeting in London, after a separation of, I believe, eight years, to find him with the manners of a gentleman, and a considerable acquaintance with the best parts of English literature: he had a natural turn for poetry, which he had much improved, and I have among my papers a volume of his poems, all of them pretty, and some of them elegant. He was a handsome, well made lad, with a very good address, and extremely well received among the women, whom he loved to excess. He was as brave as Cæsar, and loved the army. It was impossible for two men to entertain a more sincere, and, I may say, enthusiastic affection for each other, than he and I; and, at this hour, there is scarcely any thing on earth I regret so much as our separation. Having remained in Europe for three or four years, my father being, as I have above alluded to, utterly ruined by a lawsuit with his brother, Will. took the resolution to try his fortune once more in India, from which, my own affairs being nearly desperate, I did not attempt to dissuade him. In consequence, he re-entered the Company's service in the beginning of the year 1792, and arrived at Madras towards the end of the same year. With an advantageous figure, a good address, and the talents I have

described, he recommended himself so far to the colonel of the battalion in which he served, that he gave him his discharge, with letters to his friends at Calcutta, and a small military command, which defrayed the expense of his voyage, and procured him a gratification from the Company of £50 sterling for his good behavior on his arrival. The service he performed was quelling, at some hazard, a dangerous mutiny which arose among the black troops who were under his command, and had formed a scheme to run away with the ship. He had the good fortune to recommend himself so far to the persons at Calcutta to whom he had brought letters, that they introduced him, with strong recommendations, to a Mr. Marigny, a French officer, second in command in the army of the Nizam, who was then at Calcutta, purchasing military stores for that prince. Marigny, in consequence, gave him a commission in the Nizam's service, and promised him the command of a battalion of artillery, (the service to which he was attached,) as soon as they should arrive at the army. The stores, &c. being purchased, Will marched with the first division, of which he had the command, and arrived safely at the Nizam's camp. After some time, Marigny followed him, but, by an unforeseen accident, all my brother's expectations were blown up. A quarrel took place between Marigny and the Frenchman first in command, in which my brother, with an honorable indiscretion, engaged on the side of his friend. The consequence was, that Marigny was put in irons, as would have been Will also, if he had not applied for protection as a British subject to the English Resident at the Nizam's court. This circumstance, together with the breaking out of the war between England and France, utterly put an end to all prospects of his advancement, as all the European officers in the Nizam's service were French, and he determined, in consequence, to return to Calcutta. On his journey, having travelled four hundred miles, and having yet two hundred to travel, he alighted off his horse, and went to shoot in a jungle, or thick wood, by the road side; on his return, he found his servant and horses in the hands of five ruffians who were plundering his baggage; he immediately ran up and fired on them, by which he shot one of them in the belly; another returned the fire with one of his own pistols, which they had seized, and shot him through the foot; they then

made off with their booty, and, in this condition, my brother had to travel two hundred miles in that burning climate, at the commencement, too, of the rainy season, badly wounded, and without resources; his courage, however, and a good constitution, supported him, and he arrived at length at Calcutta, where he got speedily cured. His friends there had not forgotten him, and, after some time, an opportunity offering of Major Palmer going up to Poonah as Resident at the court of the Paishwa of the Mahrattahs, they procured him strong recommendations to that court, and he set off with Major Palmer in high health and spirits, with expectations of the command at least of a battalion of artillery. Such is the substance of the last letter which I received from him. Since that time, I am utterly ignorant of his fate. I hope and trust the best of him; he has a good constitution, unshaken courage, a fluent address, and his variety of adventures must, by this time, have sufficiently matured his mind, and given him experience. I look, therefore, with confidence to our meeting again, and the hour of that meeting will be one of the happiest of my life.

My second brother, Matthew, was of a temper very different from that of William; with less of fire, he was much more solid; he spoke little, but thought a great deal; in the family we called him the Spectator, from his short face and his silence; but, though he had not Will's volubility, and could not, like him, make a great display, with frequently little substance, and though his manner was reserved and phlegmatic, so as to be frequently absent in company, he had a rambling, enthusiastic spirit, stronger than any of us. He loved travelling and adventures for their own sakes. In consequence, before he was twenty-five, he had visited England twice or three times, and had spent twelve months in America, and as much in the West Indies. On his return from this last place, he mentioned to me his determination to pass over to France, and enter a volunteer in the service of the Republic, in which I encouraged and assisted him. This was in the month of August, 1794. In consequence, he crossed over to Hamburgh, whence he passed to Dunkirk, and presenting himself as an Irishman desirous of the honor of serving in the French armies, was immediately thrown into prison on suspicion. There he remained until May, 1795, when he was dis-

charged by order of the committee of public safety, and, going on to Havre de Grace, he took his passage to America, where he arrived in safety, for the second time, about Christmas, at which time I was actually at New York, waiting for my passage to France; so that we were together in America, without knowing of each other, a circumstance which I regret most exceedingly, as, in the present situation of my affairs, it is at least possible that we may never meet again; but I am not of a very desponding temper. The variety of adventures we have both gone through, and the escapes we have had in circumstances of great peril, have made me a kind of fatalist, and therefore I look with confidence to the day, and, I hope, not a very remote one, when the whole of my family shall be reunited and happy, by which time I think the spirit of adventure will, or, at least ought to be, pretty well laid in all of us. My brother Matthew, like Will, is something of a poet, and has written some trifles, in the burlesque style, that are not ill done. He is a brave lad, and I love him most sincerely. His age, at the time I write this, is about 26 or 27 years. Matthew is a sincere and ardent republican, and capable, as I think, of sacrificing every thing to his principles. I know not what effect his lying so long in a French prison may have had upon him, but, if I do not deceive myself, it has made no change in his sentiments. He is more temperate in all respects than William or myself, for we have both a strong attachment to pleasures and amusements, and a dash of coxcombry, from which he is totally free; and, perhaps, a little, at least, of the latter foible would be of no prejudice to him, nor render him less agreeable.

My third brother, Arthur, is much younger than any of us, being born about the year 1782, of course he is now fourteen years of age. If I can judge, when he grows up, he will resemble William exactly in mind and person. He is a fine, smart boy, as idle as possible, (which we have all been, without exception) with very quick parts, and as stout as a lion. My father was bent on making him an attorney, for which no boy on earth was ever so unfitted. He wished, himself, having the true vagrant turn of the family, to go to sea; his father was obstinate, so was he, and the boy was in a fair way to be lost, when I prevailed, with some difficulty, on his father, to con-

sent to his going at least one voyage. In consequence, he sailed with a captain Meyler to Portugal, being then about twelve years of age. On his return, he liked the sea so well that he was bound regularly apprentice to captain Meyler, under whom he made a voyage to London and a second voyage to Portugal. On his return from this last trip, in June, 1795, he found me at Belfast on my departure for America, and he determined to accompany me. I was extremely happy to have him with us, and, in consequence, he crossed the Atlantic with me, and remained until I decided on coming to France, when I resolved to dispatch him to Ireland, to give notice to my friends there of what I was about. I put him, in consequence, on board the Susannah, Captain Baird, at Philadelphia, on the 10th December, 1795, since which time, from circumstances, it has been impossible for me to have heard of him, but I rely, with confidence, that he has arrived safe, and discharged his commission with ability and discretion.

My sister, whose name is Mary, is a fine young woman; she has all the peculiarity of our disposition, with all the delicacy of her own sex. If she were a man, she would be exactly like one of us, and, as it is, being brought up amongst boys, for we never had but one more sister, who died a child, she has contracted a masculine habit of thinking, without, however, in any degree, derogating from that feminine softness of manner which is suited to her sex and age. When I was driven into exile in America, as I shall relate hereafter, she determined to share my fortunes, and, in consequence, she also, like the rest of us, has made her voyage across the Atlantic.

My father and mother were pretty much like other people; but, from this short sketch, with what I have to add concerning myself, I think it will appear that their children were not at all like other people, but have had, every one of them, a wild spirit of adventure, which, though sometimes found in an individual, rarely pervades a whole family, including even the females. For my brother William has visited Europe, Asia, and Africa, before he was thirty years of age; Matthew has been in America twice, in the West Indies once, not to mention several trips to England, and his voyage and imprisonment in France, and all this before he was twenty-seven. Arthur, at the age of fourteen, has been once in England, twice in Portu-

gal, and has twice crossed the Atlantic, going to and returning from America. My sister Mary crossed the same ocean, and I hope will soon do the same on her return. I do not here speak of my wife and our little boys and girl, the eldest of whom was about eight, and the youngest two years old when we sailed for America. And, by all I can see, it is by no means certain that our voyages are yet entirely finished.

I come now to myself. I was, as I have said, the eldest child of my parents, and a very great favorite. I was sent, at the age of eight or nine, to an excellent English school, kept by Sisson Darling, a man to whose kindness and affection I was much indebted, and who took more than common pains with me. I respect him yet. I was very idle, and it was only the fear of shame which could induce me to exertion. Nevertheless, at the approach of our public examinations, which were held quarterly, and at which all our parents and friends attended, I used to labor for some time, and generally with success, as I have obtained six or seven premiums in different branches at one examination, for mathematics, arithmetic, reading, spelling, recitation, use of the globes, &c. In two branches I always failed, writing and the catechism, to which last I could never bring myself to apply. Having continued with Mr. Darling for about three years, and pretty nearly exhausted the circle of English education, he recommended strongly to my father to put me to a Latin school, and to prepare me for the University, assuring him that I was a fine boy, of uncommon talents, particularly for the mathematics; that it was a thousand pities to throw me away on business, when, by giving me a liberal education, there was a moral certainty I should become a fellow of Trinity College, which was a noble independence, besides the glory of the situation. In these arguments he was supported by the Parson of the Parish, Doctor Jameson, a worthy man, who used to examine me from time to time in the elements of Euclid. My father, who, to do him justice, loved me passionately, and spared no expense on me that his circumstances would afford, was easily persuaded by these authorities. It was determined that I should be a fellow of Dublin college. I was taken from Mr. Darling, from whom I parted with regret, and placed, about the age of twelve, under the care of the Rev. Wm. Craig, a man very different, in

all respects, from my late preceptor. As the school was in the same street where we lived, (Stafford-street,) and as I was under my father's eye, I began Latin with ardor, and continued for a year or two with great diligence, when I began Greek, which I found still more to my taste; but, about this time, whether unluckily for me or not the future colour of my life must determine, my father, meeting with an accident of a fall down stairs, by which he was dreadfully wounded in the head, so that he narrowly escaped with life, found, on his recovery, his affairs so deranged in all respects, that he determined on quitting business and retiring to the country, a resolution which he executed accordingly, settling with all his creditors, and placing me with a friend near the school, whom he paid for my diet and lodging, besides allowing me a trifling sum for my pocket. In this manner I became, I may say, my own master, before I was sixteen; and as, at this time, I am not remarkable for my discretion, it may well be judged I was less so then. The superintendence of my father being removed, I began to calculate, that, according to the slow rate chalked out for me by Craig, I could very well do the business of the week in three days, or even two, if necessary, and that, consequently, the other three were lawful prize; I therefore resolved to appropriate three days in the week, at least, to my amusements, and the others to school, always keeping in the latter three the day of repetition, which included the business of the whole week, by which arrangement I kept my rank with the other boys of my class. I found no difficulty in convincing half a dozen of my school-fellows of the justice of this distribution of our time, and by this means we established a regular system of what is called *mitching;* and we contrived, being some of the smartest boys at school, to get an ascendency over the spirit of the master, so that when we entered the school in a body, after one of our days of relaxation, he did not chuse to burn his fingers with any one of us, nor did he once write to my father to inform him of my proceedings, for which he most certainly was highly culpable. I must do myself and my school-fellows the justice to say, that, though we were abominably idle, we were not vicious; our amusements consisted in walking to the country, in swimming parties in the sea, and, particularly, in attending all parades, field days, and reviews of the garri-

son of Dublin in the Phenix Park. I mention this particularly, because, independent of confirming me in a rooted habit of idleness, which I lament most exceedingly, I trace to the splendid appearance of the troops, and the pomp and parade of military show, the untameable desire which I ever since have had to become a soldier, a desire which has never once quit me, and which, after sixteen years of various adventures, I am at last at liberty to indulge. Being, at this time, approaching to seventeen years of age, it will not be thought incredible that *woman* began to appear lovely in my eyes, and I very wisely thought that a red coat and cockade, with a pair of gold epaulets, would aid me considerably in my approaches to the objects of my adoration.

This, combined with the reasons abovementioned, decided me. I began to look on classical learning as nonsense; on a fellowship in Dublin college, as a pitiful establishment; and, in short, I thought an ensign in a marching regiment was the happiest creature living. The hour when I was to enter the University, which now approached, I looked forward to with horror and disgust. I absented myself more and more from school, to which I preferred attending the recruits on drill at the barracks. So that at length my schoolmaster, who apprehended I should be found insufficient at the examination for entering the college, and that he, of consequence, would come in for his share of the disgrace, thought proper to do, what he should have done at least three years before, and wrote my father a full account of my proceedings. This immediately produced a violent dispute between us. I declared my passion for the army, and my utter dislike to a learned profession; but my father was as obstinate as I, and as he utterly refused to give me any assistance to forward my scheme, I had no resource but to submit or to follow my brother William's example, which I was too proud to do. In consequence, I sat down again, with a very bad grace, to pull up my lost time; and, at length, after laboring for some time, sorely against the grain, I entered a pensioner of Trinity College, in February, 1781; being then not quite eighteen years of age; my tutor was the Rev. Matthew Young, the most popular in the University, and one of the first mathematicians in Europe. At first I began to study Logic courageously, but unluckily, at my very first examination, I

happened to fall into the hands of an egregious dunce, one Ledwich, who, instead of giving me the premium, which, as best answerer, I undoubtedly merited, awarded it to another, and to me very indifferent judgments. I did not stand in need of this piece of injustice to alienate me once more from my studies. I returned with eagerness to my military plan; I besought my father to equip me as a volunteer, and to suffer me to join the British army in America, where the war still raged. He refused me as before, and in revenge I would not go near the College, nor open a book that was not a military one. In this manner we continued for above a twelvemonth, on very bad terms, as may well be supposed, without either party relaxing an inch from their determination. At length, seeing the war in America drawing to a close, and being beset by some of my friends who surrounded me, particularly Dr. Jameson, whom I have already mentioned, and a Mr. G.; J. Brown, who had been submaster at Mr. Darling's academy, and was now become a lawyer, I submitted a second time, and returned to my studies, after an interval of above a year. To punish me for my obstinacy, I was obliged to submit to drop a class, as it is called in the University, that is, to re-commence with the students who had entered a year after me. I continued my studies at College as I had done at school; that is, I idled until the last moment of delay. I then labored hard for about a fortnight before the public examinations, and I always secured good judgments, besides obtaining three premiums in the three last years of my course. During my progress through the University, I was not without adventures. Towards the latter end of the year 1782, I went out as second to a young fellow of my acquaintance, of the name of Foster, who fought with another lad, also of my acquaintance, named Anderson, and had the misfortune to shoot him through the head. The second to Anderson was William Armstrong, my most particular friend, who is now a very respectable clergyman, and settled at Dungannon. As Anderson's friends were outrageous against Foster and me, we were obliged at first to withdraw ourselves, but after some time their passion abated, and I returned to College, whence this adventure was near driving me a second time and forever. Foster stood his trial and was acquitted;

against me there was no prosecution. In this unfortunate business the eldest of us was not more than twenty years of age.

At length, about the beginning of the year 1785, I became acquainted with my wife. She was the daughter of William Witherington, and lived, at that time, in Grafton street, in the house of her grandfather, a rich old clergymen, of the name of Fanning. I was then a scholar of the house in the University, and every day, after commons, I used to walk under her windows with one or the other of my fellow students; I soon grew passionately fond of her, and she, also, was struck with me, though certainly my appearance, neither then nor now, was much in my favor; so it was, however, that, before we had ever spoken to each other, a mutual affection had commenced between us. She was, at this time, not sixteen years of age, and as beautiful as an angel. She had a brother some years older than herself; and as it was necessary, for my admission to the family, that I should be first acquainted with him, I soon contrived to be introduced to him, and as he played well on the violin, and I was myself a musical man, we grew intimate, the more so, as it may well be supposed I neglected no fair means to recommend myself to him and the rest of the family, with whom I soon grew a favorite. My affairs now advanced prosperously; my wife and I grew more passionately fond of each other; and, in a short time, I proposed to her to marry me, without asking consent of any one, knowing well it would be in vain to expect it; she accepted the proposal as frankly as I made it, and one beautiful morning in the month of July, we ran off together and were married. I carried her out of town to Maynooth for a few days, and when the first *eclat* of passion had subsided, we were forgiven on all sides, and settled in lodgings near my wife's grandfather.

I was now, for a very short time, as happy as possible, in the possession of a beautiful creature that I adored, and who every hour grew more and more upon my heart. The scheme of a fellowship, which I never relished, was now abandoned, and it was determined that, when I had taken my degree of Bachelor of Arts, I should go to the Temple, study the law, and be called to the bar. I continued, in consequence, my studies in the University, and obtained my last premium two or three months after I was married. In February, 1786, I commenced

Bachelor of Arts, and shortly after resigned my scholarship, and quit the University. I may observe here, that I made some figure as a scholar, and should have been much more successful if I had not been so inveterately idle, partly owing to my passion for a military life, and partly to the distractions to which my natural dispositions and temperament but too much exposed me. As it was, however, I obtained a scholarship, three premiums, and three medals from the Historical Society, a most admirable institution, of which I had the honor to be Auditor, and also to close the session with a speech from the chair, the highest compliment which that society is used to bestow. I look back on my college days with regret, and I preserve, and ever shall, a most sincere affection for the University of Dublin.

But to return. The tranquil and happy life I spent, for a short period after my marriage, was too good to last. We were obliged to break off all connection with my wife's family, who began to treat us with all possible slight and disrespect. We removed, in consequence, to my father's, who then resided near Clain, in the county of Kildare, and whose circumstances could, at that time, but ill bear such an addition to his family. It is doing him, however, but justice to mention, that he received and treated us with the greatest affection and kindness, and, as far as he was able, endeavored to make us forget the grievous mortifications we had undergone. After an interval of a few months, my wife was brought to bed of a girl, a circumstance which, if possible, increased my love for her a thousand fold; but our tranquillity was again broken in upon by a most terrible event. On the 16th October, 1786, the house was broken open by a gang of robbers, to the number of six, armed with pistols, and having their faces blacked. Having tied the whole family, they proceeded to plunder and demolish every article they could find, even to the unprofitable villainy of breaking the china, looking glasses, &c. At length, after two hours, a maid servant, whom they had tied negligently, having made her escape, they took the alarm, and fled with precipitation, leaving the house such a scene of horror and confusion, as can hardly be imagined. With regard to myself, it is impossible to conceive what I suffered. As it was early in the night, I happened to be in the court-yard, where I was seized and tied by the gang, who then proceeded to break into the house, leaving

a ruffian sentinel over me, with a case of pistols cocked in his hand. In this situation I lay for two hours, and could hear distinctly the devastation which was going on within. I expected death every instant, and I can safely and with great truth declare, that my apprehensions for my wife had so totally absorbed the whole of my mind, that my own existence was then the least of my concern. When the villains, including my sentry, ran off, I scrambled on my feet with some difficulty, and made my way to a window, where I called, but received no answer. My heart died within me. I proceeded to another and another, but still no answer. It was horrible. I set myself to gnaw the cords with which I was tied, in a transport of agony and rage, for I verily believed that my whole family lay murdered within, when I was relieved from my unspeakable terror and anguish by my wife's voice, which I heard calling on my name at the end of the house. It seems that, as soon as the robbers fled, those within had untied each other with some difficulty, and made their escape through a back window: they had got a considerable distance from the house, before, in their fright, they recollected me, of whose fate they were utterly ignorant, as I was of theirs. Under these circumstances, my wife had the courage to return alone, and, in the dark, to find me out, not knowing but she might again fall into the hands of the villains, from whom she had scarcely escaped, or that I might be lying a lifeless carcase at the threshold. I can imagine no greater effort of courage; but of what is not a woman capable for him she truly loves? She cut the cords which bound me, and at length we joined the rest of the family at a little hamlet within half a mile of the house, where they had fled for shelter. Of all the adventures wherein I have been hitherto engaged, this, undoubtedly, was the most horrible. It makes me shudder even now to think of it. It was some consolation that none of us sustained any personal injury, except my father, whom one of the villains scarred on the side of the head with a knife: they respected the women, whose danger made my only fear, and one of them had even the humanity to carry our little daughter from her cradle where she lay screaming, and to place her beside my wife on the bed, whereon she was tied with my mother and sister. This terrible scene, besides infinitely distressing us by the heavy loss we sustained, and which my

father's circumstances could very ill bear, destroyed, in a great degree, our domestic enjoyments. I slept continually with a case of pistols at my pillow, and a mouse could not stir, that I was not on my feet and through the house from top to bottom. If any one knocked at the door after nightfall, we flew to our arms, and, in this manner, we kept a most painful garrison through the winter. I should observe here, that two of the ruffians being taken in an unsuccessful attempt, within a few days after our robbery, were hanged, and that my father's watch was found on one of them.

At length, when our affairs were again reduced into some little order, my father supplied me with a small sum of money, which was, however, as much as he could spare, and I set off for London, leaving my wife and daughter with my father, who treated them, during my absence, with great affection. After a dangerous passage to Liverpool, wherein we ran some risk of being lost, I arrived in London, in January, 1787, and immediately entered my name as a student at law on the books of the Middle Temple; but this I may say was all the progress I ever made in that profession. I had no great affection for study in general, but that of the law I particularly disliked, and to this hour I think it an illiberal profession, both in its principles and practice. I was, likewise, amenable to nobody for my conduct; and, in consequence, after the first month I never opened a law book, nor was I ever three times in Westminster Hall in my life. In addition to the reasons I have mentioned, the extreme uncertainty of my circumstances, which kept me in much uneasiness of mind, disabled me totally from that cool and systematic habit of study which is indispensable for attaining a knowledge of a science so abstruse and difficult as that of the English code. However, one way or another I contrived to make it out. I had chambers in the Temple, (No. 4, Hare Court, on the first floor,) and whatever difficulties I had otherwise to struggle with, I contrived always to preserve the appearance of a gentleman, and to maintain my rank with my fellow students, if I can call myself a student. One resource I derived from the exercise of my talents, such as they were. I wrote several articles for the European Magazine, mostly critical reviews of new publications. My reviews were but poor performances enough; however, they were in general as good

as those of my brother critics; and, in two years, I received, I suppose, about £50 sterling for my writings, which was my main object; for, as to literary fame, I had then no great ambition to attain it. I likewise, in conjunction with two of my friends, named Jebb and Radcliff, wrote a burlesque novel, which we called "Belmont Castle," and was intended to ridicule the execrable trash of the Circulating Libraries. It was tolerably well done, particularly Radcliff's part, which was by far the best; yet so it was that we could not find a bookseller who would risk the printing it, though we offered the copy right gratis to several. It was afterwards printed in Dublin, and had some success, though I believe, after all, it was most relished by the authors, and their immediate connexions.

At the Temple I became intimate with several young men of situation and respectability, particularly with the Hon. George Knox, son of Lord Northland, with whom I formed a friendship of which I am as proud as of any circumstance in my life. He is a man of inappreciable merit, and loved to a degree of enthusiasm by all who have the happiness to know him. I scarcely know any person whose esteem and approbation I covet so much; and I had, long after the commencement of our acquaintance, when I was in circumstances of peculiar and trying difficulty, and deserted by many of my former friends, the unspeakable consolation and support of finding George Knox still the same, and of preserving his esteem unabated. His steady friendship on that occasion, I shall mention in its place; it has made an indelible impression of gratitude and affection on my heart. I likewise renewed an old college acquaintance with John Hall, who, by different accessions to his fortune, was now at the head of about £14,000 sterling a year. He had changed his name twice, for two estates; first to that of Stevenson, and then to Wharton, which is his present name. He was then a member of the British Parliament, and to his friendship I was indebted for the sum of £150 sterling, at a time when I was under great pecuniary difficulties. Another old college friend, I recall with sentiments of sincere affection, Benjamin Phipps, of Cork. He kept a kind of bachelor's house, with good wine, and an excellent collection of books, (*not law books,*) all which were as much at my command as at his. With some oddities, which to me only rendered him more

amusing, he had a great fund of information, particularly of political detail, and in his company I spent some of the pleasantest hours which I passed in London.

At length, after I had been at the Temple something better than a year, my brother William, who was returned a few months before from his first expedition to St. Helena, joined me, and we lived together in the greatest amity and affection for about nine months, being the remainder of my stay in London. At this distance of time, now eight years, I feel my heart swell at the recollection of the happy hours we spent together. We were often without a guinea, but that never affected our spirits for a moment, and if ever I felt myself oppressed by some untoward circumstance, I had a never-failing resource and consolation in his friendship, his courage, and the invincible gaiety of his disposition, which nothing could ruffle. With the companionable qualities he possessed, it is no wonder that he recommended himself to Ben. Phipps, so that he was soon, I believe, a greater favorite with him than even I was. They were inseparable. It fills my mind now with a kind of tender melancholy, which is not unpleasing, to recall the many delightful days we three have spent together, and the walks we have taken, sometimes to a review; sometimes to see a ship of war launched; sometimes to visit the Indiamen at Deptford, a favorite expedition with Phipps. Will, besides his natural gaiety, had an inexhaustible fund of pure Irish humor; I was pretty well myself, and Phipps, like the landlord of the Hercules Pillars, was *an excellent third man.* In short, we made it out together admirably. As I foresaw by this time that I should never be Lord Chancellor, and as my mind was naturally active, a scheme occurred to me, to the maturing of which I devoted some time and study; this was a proposal to the minister to establish a colony in one of Cook's newly discovered islands in the South Sea on a military plan, for all my ideas ran in that track, in order to put a bridle on Spain in time of peace, and to annoy her grievously in that quarter in time of war. In arranging this system, which I think even now was a good one for England, I read every book I could find relating to South America, as Ulloa, Anson, Dampierre, Woodes, Rogers, Narborough, and especially the Bucaniers, who were my heroes, and whom I proposed to myself as the archetypes of the future colonists.

Many and many a delightful evening did my brother, Phipps, and I, spend in reading, writing, and talking of my project, in which, if it had been adopted, it was our firm resolution to have embarked. At length, when we had reduced it into a regular shape, I drew up a memorial on the subject, which I addressed to Mr. Pitt, and delivered with my own hands to the porter in Downing street. We waited, I will not say patiently, for about ten days, when I addressed a letter to the minister, mentioning my memorial, and praying an answer, but this application was as unsuccessful as the former. Mr. Pitt took not the smallest notice of either memorial or letter, and all the benefit we reaped from our scheme was the amusement it afforded us during three months, wherein it was the subject of our constant speculation I regret these delightful reveries which then occupied my mind. It was my first essay in what I may call politics, and my disappointment made such an impression on me as is not yet quite obliterated. In my anger I made something like a vow, that, if ever I had an opportunity, I would make Mr. Pitt sorry, and perhaps fortune may yet enable me to fulfil that resolution. It was about this time I had a very fortunate escape : my affairs were exceedingly embarrassed, and just at a moment when my mind was harassed and sore with my own vexations, I received a letter from my father, filled with complaints, and a description of the ruin of his circumstances, which I afterwards found was much exaggerated. In a transport of rage, I determined to enlist as a soldier in the India Company's service ; to quit Europe forever, and to leave my wife and child to the mercy of her family, who might, I hoped, be kinder to her when I was removed. My brother combatted this desperate resolution by every argument in his power ; but, at length, when he saw me determined, he declared I should not go alone, and that he would share my fate to the last extremity. In this gloomy state of mind, deserted, as we thought by Gods and men, we set out together for the India house, in Leadenhall street, to offer ourselves as volunteers ; but, on our arrival there, we were informed that the season was passed, that no more ships would be sent out that year ; but that, if we returned about the month of March following, we might be received The clerk, to whom we addressed ourselves, seemed not a little surprised at two young fellows, of our appearance, presenting

ourselves on such a business, for we were extremely well dressed, and Will, who was the spokesman for us both, had an excellent address. Thus were we stopped, and I believe we were the single instance, since the beginning of the world, of two men, absolutely bent on ruining themselves, who could not find the means. We returned to my chambers, and, desperate as were our fortunes, we could not help laughing at the circumstance that India, the great gulf of all undone beings, should be shut against us alone. Had it been the month of March instead of September, we should most infallibly have gone off; and, in that case, I should most probably at this hour, be carrying a brown musket on the coast of Coromandel. Providence, however, decreed it otherwise, and reserved me, as I hope, for better things.

I had been now two years at the Temple, and had kept eight terms, that is to say, I had dined three days in each term in the common hall. As to law, I knew exactly as much about it as I did of necromancy. It became, however, necessary to think of my return, and, in consequence, I made application, through a friend, to my wife's grandfather, to learn his intentions as to her fortune. He exerted himself so effectually in our behalf that the old gentleman consented to give £500 immediately, and expressed a wish for my immediate return. In consequence, I packed up directly, and set off, with my brother, for Ireland. We landed at Dublin the 23d December, and on Christmas day, 1788, arrived at my father's house at Blackhall, where I had the satisfaction to find all my family in health, except my wife, who was grown delicate, principally from the anxiety of her mind on the uncertainty of her situation. Our little girl was now between two and three years old, and was charming. After remaining a few days at Blackhall, we came up to Dublin, and were received as at first, in Grafton-street, by my wife's family. Mr. Fanning paid me punctually the sum he had promised, and my wife and I both flattered ourselves that all past animosities were forgotten, and that the reconciliation was as sincere on their part as it most assuredly was on ours. I now took lodgings in Clarendon street, purchased about £100 worth of law books, and determined, in earnest, to begin and study the profession to which I was doomed; in pursuance of this resolution, I

commenced Bachelor of Laws in February, 1789, and was called to the bar in due form, in Trinity term following; shortly after which I went my first (the Leinster) circuit, having been previously elected a member of the Bar club. On this circuit, notwithstanding my ignorance, I pretty nearly cleared my expenses; and I cannot doubt, if I had continued to apply sedulously to the law, but I might have risen to some eminence; but, whether it was my incorrigible habits of idleness, the sincere dislike I had to the profession, which the little insight I was beginning to get into it did not tend to remove, or whether it was a controlling destiny, I know not, but so it was, that I soon got sick and weary of the law. I continued, however, for form's sake, to go to the courts, and wear a foolish wig and gown, for a considerable time, and I went the circuit, I believe, in all, three times; but, as I was, modestly speaking, one of the most ignorant barristers in the four courts, and as I took little, or, rather, no pains to conceal my contempt and dislike of the profession, and especially as I had neither the means, nor the inclination, to treat messieurs the attorneys, and to make them drink, (a sacrifice of their respectability, which even the most liberal minded of the profession are obliged to make,) I made, as may well be supposed, no great exhibition at the Irish bar.

I had not been long a Counsellor, when the *coup de grace* was given to my father's affairs by a decree in Chancery, which totally ruined him; this was in a law suit between him and his brother, who was lieutenant of Grenadiers in the 22d regiment. During the whole of this business I obstinately refused to take any part, not thinking it decent to interfere where the parties were both so nearly allied to me. When, however, my father was totally ruined, I thought it my duty, as it was most certainly my inclination, to assist him, even to distressing myself, a sacrifice which the great pains and expense he had bestowed on my education well merited. I, in consequence, strained every nerve to preserve a remnant of his property, but his affairs were too desperate, and I was myself too poor to relieve him effectually, so that, after one or two ineffectual efforts, by which I lost considerably with reference to my means, without essentially serving him, we were obliged to submit, and the last of his property, consisting of two

houses, one in Stafford-street, and one on Summerhill, were sold, much under their value, to men who took advantage of our necessities, as is always the case. Soon after he had the good fortune to obtain a place under the paving board, which he yet retains, and which secures him a decent, though moderate, independence.

As the law grew every day more and more disgustful, to which my want of success contributed, though in that respect I never had the injustice to accuse the world of insensibility to my merit, as I well knew the fault was my own, but being, as I said, more and more weary of a profession for which my temper and habits so utterly disqualified me, I turned my attention to politics, and, as one or two of my friends had written pamphlets with success, I determined to try my hand on a pamphlet. Just at this period the *Whig Club* was instituted in Ireland, and the press groaned with publications against them on the part of Government. Two or three defences had likewise appeared, but none of them extraordinary. Under these circumstances, though I was very far from entirely approving the system of the Whig Club, and much less their principles and motives, yet, seeing them at the time the best constituted political body which the country afforded, and agreeing with most of their positions, though my own private opinions went infinitely farther, I thought I could venture on their defence without violating my own consistency. I therefore sat down, and in a few days finished my first pamphlet, which I entitled "*A Review of the last session of Parliament!*" To speak candidly of this performance, it was barely above mediocrity, if it rose so high; nevertheless, as it was written evidently on honest principles, and did not censure or flatter one party or the other, without assigning sufficient reason, it had a certain degree of success. The *Northern Whig Club* reprinted and distributed a large impression at their own expense, with an introduction, highly complimentary to the author, whom, at that time, they did not even know; and a very short time after, when it was known that the production was mine, they did me the honor to elect me a member of their body, which they notified to me by a very handsome letter, signed by their Secretary, Henry Joy, jun. of Belfast, and to which I returned a suitable answer. But this was not all. The leaders

of the Whig Club, conceiving my talents, such as they were, might be of service to their cause, and, not expecting much intractability from a young lawyer, who had his fortune to make, sent a brother barrister to compliment me on my performance, and to thank me for the zeal and ability I had shown. I was, in consequence, introduced to George Ponsonby, a distinguished member of the body, and who might be considered as the leader of the Irish opposition; with him, however, I never had any communication further than ordinary civilities. Shortly after, the barrister above mentioned spoke to me again; he told me the Ponsonbys were a most powerful family in Ireland; that they were much pleased with my exertion, and wished, in consequence, to attach me to them; that I should be employed as counsel on a petition then pending before the House of Commons, which would put an hundred guineas in my pocket, and that I should have professional business put in my way, from time to time, that should produce me at least as much per annum; he added, that they were then, it was true, out of place, but that they would not be always so, and that, on their return to office, their friends, when out of power, would naturally be first considered; he likewise observed, that they had influence, direct or indirect, over no less than two and twenty seats in Parliament; and he insinuated, pretty plainly, that when we were better acquainted it was highly probable I might come in on one of the first vacancies. All this was highly flattering to me, the more so as my wife's fortune was now nearly exhausted, partly by our inevitable expenses, and partly by my unsuccesful efforts to extricate my father. I did, it was true, not much relish the attaching myself to any great man, or set of men, but I considered, as I have said before, that the principles they advanced were such as I could conscientiously support, *so far as they went*, though mine went much beyond them. I therefore thought there was no dishonor in the proposed connexion, and I was certainly a little dazzled with the prospect of a seat in Parliament, at which my ambition began to expand. I signified, in consequence, my readiness to attach myself to the Whigs, and I was instantly retained in the petition for the borough of Dungarvan, on the part of James Carrigee Ponsonby, Esq.

I now looked upon myself as a sort of political character, and began to suppose that the House of Commons, and not the bar, was to be the scene of my future exertions; but in this I reckoned like a sanguine young man. Month after month elapsed, without any communication on the part of George Ponsonby, whom I looked upon as most immediately my object. He always spoke to me, when we met by chance, with great civility, but I observed that he never mentioned one word of politics. I, therefore, at last concluded that he had changed his mind, or that, on a nearer view, he had found my want of capacity; in short I gave up all thoughts of the connexion, and determined to trouble myself no more about Ponsonby or the whigs, and I calculated, that as I had written a pamphlet which they thought had served them, and as they had in consequence employed me professionally in a business which produced me eighty guineas, accounts were balanced on both sides, and all further connexion was at an end. But my mind had now got a turn for politics. I thought I had at last found my element, and I plunged into it with eagerness. A closer examination into the situation of my native country, had very considerably extended my views, and, as I was sincerely and honestly attached to her interests, I soon found reason not to regret that the whigs had not thought me an object worthy of their cultivation. I made speedily what was to me a great discovery, though I might have found it in Swift and Molyneux, that the influence of England was the radical vice of our Government, and consequently that Ireland would never be either free, prosperous, or happy, until she was independent, and that independence was unattainable, whilst the connexion with England existed. In forming this theory, which has ever since unvaryingly directed my political conduct, to which I have sacrificed every thing, and am ready to sacrifice my life if necessary, I was exceedingly assisted by an old friend of mine, Sir Lawrence Parsons, whom I look upon as one of the very *very few* honest men in the Irish House of Commons. It was he who first turned my attention on this great question, but I very soon ran far ahead of my master. It is in fact to him I am indebted for the first comprehensive view of the actual situation of Ireland; what his conduct might be in a crisis, I know not, but I can answer for the truth and justice of his theory. I now began

to look on the little politics of the Whig Club, with great contempt; their peddling about petty grievances, instead of going to the root of the evil, and I rejoiced that, if I was poor, as I actually was, I had preserved my independence, and could speak my sentiments without being responsible to any body but the law.

An occasion soon offered to give vent to my newly received opinions. On the appearance of a rupture with Spain, I wrote a pamphlet to prove that Ireland was not bound by the declaration of war, but might, and ought, as an independent nation, to stipulate for a neutrality. In examining this question, I advanced the question of separation, with scarcely any reserve, much less disguise; but the public mind was by no means so far advanced as I was, and my pamphlet made not the smallest impression. The day after it appeared, as I stood *perdue* in the bookseller's shop, listening after my own reputation, Sir Henry Cavendish, a notorious slave of the House of Commons, entered, and throwing my unfortunate pamphlet on the counter in a rage, exclaimed: *Mr. Byrne, if the author of that work is serious, he ought to be hanged.* Sir Henry was succeeded by a Bishop, an *English* Doctor of Divinity, with five or six thousand a year, *laboriously* earned in the church. His lordship's anger was not much less than that of the other personage. *Sir,* said he, *if the principles contained in that abominable work were to spread, do you know that you would have to pay for your coals at the rate of five pounds a ton?* Notwithstanding these criticisms, which I have faithfully quoted against myself, I continue to think my pamphlet a good one, but, apparently, the publisher, Mr. Byrne, was of a different opinion, for I have every reason to believe that he suppressed the whole impression, *for which his own Gods damn him.*

Shortly after the premature end of my second pamphlet, which I have recorded, and which did not, however, change my opinion on its merit, for *Victrix causa Diis placuit, sed victa Catoni,* we came to an open rupture with my wife's family. It is not my intention to enter in this subject. One circumstance is sufficient to prove that the breach was not of our seeking, viz. that we had every thing to lose and nothing to gain by a quarrel. * * * * * * * *

About this time it was, that I formed an acquaintance with my invaluable friend Russell, a circumstance which I look upon as one of the most fortunate of my life. He is a man whom I love as a brother. I will not here attempt a panegyric on his merits; it is sufficient to say, that, to an excellent understanding, he joins the purest principles, and the best of hearts. I wish I had ability to delineate his character, with justice to his talents and his virtues: He well knows how much I esteem and love him, and I think there is no sacrifice that friendship could exact, that we would not with cheerfulness make for each other, to the utmost hazard of life or fortune. There cannot be imagined a more perfect harmony, I may say identity of sentiment, than exists between us; our regard for each other has never suffered a moment's relaxation from the hour of our first acquaintance, and I am sure it will continue to the end of our lives. I think the better of myself for being the object of the esteem of such a man as Russell. I love him and I honor him. I frame no system of happiness for my future life, in which the enjoyment of his society does not constitute a most distinguishing feature, and, if I am ever inclined to murmur at the difficulties wherewith I have so long struggled, I think on the inestimable treasure I possess in the affection of my wife and the friendship of Russell, and I acknowledge that all my labors and sufferings are overpaid. I may truly say, that, even at this hour, when I am separated from both of them, and uncertain whether I may ever be so happy as to see them again, there is no action of my life which has not a remote reference to their opinion, which I equally prize. When I think I have acted well, and that I am likely to succeed in the important business wherein I am engaged, I say often to myself, My dearest love and my friend Russell will be glad of this.

But to return to my history. My acquaintance with Russell commenced by an argument in the gallery of the House of Commons. He was, at that time, enamoured of the whigs, but I knew these gentlemen a little better than he, and indeed he did not long remain under the delusion. We were struck with each other, notwithstanding the difference of our opinions, and we agreed to dine together the next day, in order to discuss the question. We liked each other better the second day than the

first, and every day since has encreased and confirmed our mutual esteem.

My wife's health continuing still delicate, she was ordered by her physician to bathe in the saltwater. I hired, in consequence, a little box of a house on the sea side, at Irishtown, where we spent the summer of 1790. Russell and I were inseparable, and, as our discussions were mostly political, and our sentiments agreed exactly, we extended our views, and fortified each other in the opinions, to the propagation and establishment of which we have ever since been devoted. I recall with transport the happy days we spent together during that period; the delicious dinners, in the preparation of which my wife, Russell, and myself, were all engaged; the afternoon walks, the discussions we had, as we lay stretched on the grass. It was delightful! Sometimes Russell's venerable father, a veteran of near seventy, with the courage of a hero, the serenity of a philosopher, and the piety of a saint, used to visit our little mansion, and that day was a *fete*. My wife doated on the old man, and he loved her like one of his children. I will not attempt, because I am unable, to express the veneration and regard I had for him, and I am sure that, next to his own sons, and scarcely below them, he loved and esteemed me. Russell's brother, John, too, used to visit us, a man of a most warm and affectionate heart, and, incontestibly, of the most companionable talents I ever met. His humor, which was pure and natural, flowed in an inexhaustible stream. He had not the strength of character of my friend Tom, but for the charms of conversation he excelled him and all the world. Sometimes, too, my brother William used to join us for a week, from the county Kildare, where he resided with my brother Matthew, who had lately commenced a cotton manufactory at Prosperous in that county. I have already mentioned the convivial talents he possessed. In short, when the two Russells, my brother, and I, were assembled, it is impossible to conceive of a happier society. I know not whether our wit was perfectly classical or not, nor does it signify. If it was not sterling, at least it passed current amongst ourselves. If I may judge, we were none of us destitute of the humor indigenous in the soil of Ireland; for three of us I can answer, they possessed it an eminent degree; add to this, I was the only one of the four who was not a poet,

or at least a maker of verses: so that every day produced a ballad, or some poetical squib, which amused us after dinner, and, as our conversation turned upon no ribaldry or indecency, my wife and sister never left the table. These were delicious days. The rich and great, who sit down every day to the monotony of a splendid entertainment, can form no idea of the happiness of our frugal meal, nor of the infinite pleasure we found in taking each his part in the preparation and attendance. My wife was the centre and the soul of all. I scarcely know which of us loved her best; her courteous manners, her goodness of heart, her incomparable humor, her never failing cheerfulness, her affection for me and for our children, rendered her the object of our common admiration and delight. She loved Russell as well as I did. In short, a more interesting society of individuals, connected by purer motives, and animated by a more ardent attachment and friendship for each other, cannot be imagined.

During the course of this summer, there were strong appearances of a rupture between England and Spain, relative to Nootka Sound. I had mentioned to Russell my project for a military colony in the South Seas, and, as we had both nothing better to do, we sat down to look over my papers and memorandums regarding that business. After some time, rather to amuse ourselves, than with an expectation of its coming to any thing, we enlarged and corrected my original plan, and, having dressed up a handsome memorial on the subject, I sent it enclosed in a letter to the Duke of Richmond, then Master of the Ordnance. I thought I should hear no more about it, but we were not a little surprised, when, a few days after, I received an answer, from his Grace, in which, after speaking, with great civility of the merits of my plan, he informed me such business was out of his department, but that, if I desired it, he would deliver my memorial, and recommend it to the notice of Lord Grenville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whose business it properly was. I immediately wrote him an answer of acknowledgment, entreating him to support my plan, and, by the same post, I wrote also to Lord Grenville. In a few days I received answers from them both, informing me that the memorial had been received by Lord Grenville, and should be taken into speedy consideration, when, if any measures were

to be adopted in consequence, I might depend on receiving further information. These letters we looked upon as leaving it barely possible that something might be done in the business, though very unlikely; and so indeed it proved, for, shortly after, a kind of peace, called a convention, was agreed upon between Spain and England, on which I wrote once more to Lord Grenville, enclosing a second memorial, in order to learn his determination, when I received a very civil answer, praising my plan, &c. and informing me that existing circumstances had rendered it unnecessary, at that time, to put it in execution, but that ministers would keep it in recollection. Thus ended, for the second time, my attempt to colonize in the South Seas, a measure which I still think might be attended with the most beneficial consequences to England. I keep all the papers relating to this business, including the originals of the minister's letters, and I have likewise copied the whole of them in a quarto book, to which I refer for further information. It was singular enough, this correspondence, continued by two of the King of England's cabinet ministers at St James, on the one part, and Russell and myself, from my little box at Irishtown, on the other. If the measure I proposed had been adopted, we were both determined on going out with the expedition, in which case, instead of planning revolutions in our own country, we might be now, perhaps, carrying on a privateering war, (for which, I think, we have both talents.) on the coasts of Spanish America. This adventure is an additional proof of the romantic spirit I have mentioned in the beginning of my memoirs, as a trait in our family; and, indeed, my friend Russell was, in that respect, completely one of ourselves. The minister's refusal did not sweeten us much towards him. I renewed the vow I had once before made, to make him, if I could, repent of it, in which Russell most heartily concurred. Perhaps the minister may yet have reason to wish he had let us go off quietly to the South Seas. I should be glad to have an opportunity to remind him of his old correspondent, and if I ever find one, I will not overlook it. I dare say he has utterly forgot the circumstance, but I have not. "*Every thing, however, is for the best,* as Pangloss says, *in this best of all possible worlds:*" If I had gone to the Sandwich Islands, in 1790, I should not be to day *chef de brigade* in the service of the French

Republic, not to mention what I may be in my own country, if our expedition thither succeeds.

But to return. Shortly after this disappointment, Russell, who had for two or three years revelled in the ease and dignity of an Ensign's half pay, amounting to £28 sterling a year, which he had earned before he was twenty-one, by broiling in the East Indies for five years, was unexpectedly promoted by favor of the commander in chief to an Ensigncy, on full pay, in the 64th regiment of foot, then quartered in the town of Belfast. He put himself, in consequence, in battle array, and prepared to join. I remember the last day he dined with us in Irishtown, where he came, to use his own quotation, "*all clinquant, all in gold*" ! We set him to cook part of the dinner in a very fine suit of laced regimentals. I love to recall those scenes. We parted with the sincerest regret on both sides ; he set off for Belfast, and shortly after we returned to town for the winter, my wife's health being perfectly re-established, as she manifested by being, in due time, brought to bed of our eldest boy, whom we called William, after my brother.

This winter I endeavored to institute a kind of political club, from which I expected great things. It consisted of seven or eight members, eminent for their talents and patriotism, and who had already more or less distinguished themselves by their literary productions. They were John Stack, fellow of Trinity college, Dr. Wm. Drennan, author of the celebrated letters signed Orellana, Joseph Pollock, author of the still more justly celebrated letters of Owen Roe O'Neil, Peter Burrowes, a barrister, a man of a most powerful and comprehensive mind, William Johnson, a lawyer, also of respectable talents, Whitley Stokes, a fellow of Trinity College, a man, the extent and variety of whose knowledge is only to be exceeded by the number and intensity of his virtues. Russell, a corresponding member, and myself. As our political opinions, at that time, agreed in most essential points, however they may have since differed, and as this little club most certainly comprised a great proportion of information, talents, and integrity, it might naturally be expected that some distinguished publications should be the result ; yet, I know not how it was, we did not draw well together ; our meetings degenerated into downright ordinary suppers ; we became a mere oyster club,

and, at length, a misunderstanding, or, rather, a rooted dislike to each other, which manifested itself between Drennan and Pollock, (who were completely Cæsar and Pompey with regard to literary empire) joined to the retreat of John Stack to his living in the North, and the little good we saw resulting from our association, induced us to drop off one by one, and thus, after three or four months of sickly existence, our club departed this life, leaving behind it a puny offspring of about a dozen essays on different subjects, all, as may be supposed, tolerable, but not one of any distinguished excellence. I am satisfied any one of the members, by devoting a week of his time to a well chosen subject, would have produced a work of ten times more value, than the whole club were able to show from their joint labors during its existence. This experiment satisfied me that men of genius, to be of use, must not be collected in numbers. They do not work well in the aggregate, and, indeed, even in ordinary conversations, I have observed that too many wits spoil the discourse. The dullest entertainment at which I ever remember to have assisted was one formed expressly to bring together near twenty persons, every one more or less distinguished for splendid talents, or great convivial qualities. We sat, and prosed together in great solemnity, endeavoring, by a rapid circulation of the bottle, to animate the discourse; but it would not do, every man was clad in a suit of intellectual armour, in which he found himself secure it is true, but ill at his ease, and we all rejoiced at the moment, when we were permitted to run home and get into our *robes de chambre* and slippers. Any two of the men present would have been the delight and entertainment of a well chosen society, but all together was, as Wolsey says, "*too much honor.*"*

* Note by the Editor.—About this time, whilst his ideas on the evils resulting from the connexion with Britain, were fermenting in his mind, (see the four essays addressed to the Club, in the Appendix, and his pamphlet on the Spanish war,) my father wrote a letter to his friend Russell, where he expanded upon them, and concluded, "Such and such men (mentioning his friends and associates in the Club,) think with me." This very innocent paper produced, about two years afterwards, in 1793, a most ridiculous alarm and disturbance. It would not have been noticed, at the time it was written, more than those pamphlets which were published; but then, when the political fever raged at the highest, and when it was already forgotten by himself and his friends, it fell, by some chance or indiscretion, into the hands

In recording the names of the members of the Club, I find I have strangely omitted the name of a man whom, as well for his talents as his principles, I esteem as much as any, far more than most of them, I mean Thomas Addis Emmet, a barrister. He is a man completely after my own heart; of a great and comprehensive mind; of the warmest and sincerest affection for his friends; and of a firm and steady adherence to his principles, to which he has sacrificed much, as I know, and would, I am sure, if necessary, sacrifice his life. His opinions and mine square exactly. In classing the men I most esteem, I would place him beside Russell, at the head of the list; because, with regard to them both, the most ardent feelings of my heart coincide exactly with the most severe decision of my judgment. There are men whom I regard as much as it is possible. I am sure, for example, if there be on earth such a thing as sincere friendship, I feel it for Whitley Stokes, for George Knox, and for Peter Burrowes. They are men whose talents I admire, whose virtues I reverence, and whose persons I love; but the regard which I feel for them, sincere and affectionate as it is, is certainly not of the same species with that which I entertain for Russell and Emmet. Between us there has been, from the very commencement of our acquaintance, a coincidence of sentiment, a harmony of feelings on points which we all conscienciously consider as of the last importance, which binds us in the closest ties to each other. We have unvaryingly been devoted to the pursuit of the same object, by the same means; we have had a fellowship in our labors; a society in our dangers; our

of the Government. The gentlemen mentioned, many of whom had since espoused the part of the administration, were all summoned before the Secret Committee. For that most illegal tribunal, the Star Chamber of Ireland, assumed the power of examining any suspected individuals on the opinions, as well as the actions, of themselves and of others; putting them on their oath, to answer all their questions, and imprisoning them arbitrarily. On this occasion these gentlemen were charged with being privy not only to a theoretical disquisition, but to a deep conspiracy against the Government, as far back as the year 1791. It is, however, remarkable, that my father was not called before them. Perhaps he was deemed incorrigible.

This letter is alluded to in several parts of his subsequent memoirs, in Curran's life by his son, and in several of Lord Clare's speeches to Parliament. His Lordship never lost an opportunity of alluding to that dangerous production, which disclosed the long meditation of those traitorous and rebellious designs, and it was laid before the British Parliament and Privy Council.

hopes, our fears, our wishes, our friends, and our enemies, have been the same. When all this is considered, and the talents and principles of the men taken into the account, it will not be wondered at, if I esteem Russell and Emmet as the first of my friends. If ever an opportunity offers, as circumstances at present seem likely to bring forward, I think their country will ratify my choice. With regard to Burrowes and Knox, whom I do most sincerely and affectionately love, their political opinions differ fundamentally from mine; and, perhaps, it is for the credit of us all three, that, with such an irreconcilable difference of sentiment, we have all along preserved a mutual regard and esteem for each other; at least, I am sure, I feel it particularly honorable to myself, for there are, perhaps, no two men in the world about whose good opinion I am more solicitous. Nor shall I soon forget the steady and unvarying friendship I experienced from them both, when my situation was, to all human appearance, utterly desperate, and when others, with at least as little reason to desert me, shunned me, as if I had the red spots of the plague out on me—but of that hereafter. With regard to Whitley Stokes, his political opinions approach nearer to mine than those of either Knox or Burrowes. I mention this, for, in these days of unbounded discussion, politics unfortunately enter into every thing, even into our private friendships. We, however, differ on many material points, and we differ on principles which do honor to Stokes' heart. With an acute feeling of the degradation of his country, and a just and generous indignation against her oppressers, the tenderness and humanity of his disposition is such, that he recoils from any measures to be attempted for her emancipation which may terminate in blood: in this respect I have not the virtue to imitate him. I must observe, that, with this perhaps extravagant anxiety for the lives of others, I am sure in any cause which satisfied his conscience, no man would be more prodigal of his own life than Whitley Stokes, for he is an enthusiast in his nature, but "*what he would highly that would he holily*," and I am afraid that in the present state of affairs, that is a thing impossible. I love Stokes most sincerely. With a most excellent and highly cultivated mind, he possesses the distinguishing characteristic of the best and most feeling heart, and I am sure it will not hurt the self love of any of the friends whose names

I have recorded, when I say that, in the full force of the phrase, I look upon Whitley Stokes as the *very best man* I have ever known. Now that I am upon this subject, I must observe that, in the choice of my friends, I have been, all my life, extremely fortunate; I hope I am duly sensible of the infinite value of their esteem, and I take the greatest pride in being able to say that I have preserved that esteem, even of those from whom I most materially differed on points of the last importance, and on occasions of peculiar difficulty; and this too without any sacrifice of consistency or principle, on either side; a circumstance which, however, redounds still more to their credit than to mine. But, to return to my history, from this long digression, on which, however, I dwell with affection, exiled as I am from the inestimable friends I have mentioned, it is a consolation to my soul to dwell upon their merits, and the sincere and animated affection I feel for them. God knows whether we shall ever meet, or if we do, how many of us may survive the contest in which we are, by all appearance, about to embark. If it be my lot, for one, to fall, I leave behind me this small testimony of my regard for them, written under circumstances which, I think, may warrant its sincerity.

The French revolution had now been above a twelvemonth in its progress; at its commencement, as the first emotions are generally honest, every one was in its favor; but, after some time, the probable consequences to monarchy and aristocracy began to be foreseen, and the partizans of both to retrench considerably in their admiration: at length, Mr. Burke's famous invective appeared; and this in due season produced Paine's reply, which he called "Rights of Man." This controversy, and the gigantic event which gave rise to it, changed in an instant the politics of Ireland. Two years before, the nation was in lethargy. The puny efforts of the Whig Club, miserable and defective as their system was, were the only appearance of any thing like exertion, and he was looked on as extravagant who thought of a Parliamentary reform, against which, by the by, all parties equally set their face. I have already mentioned, that, in those days of apathy and depression, I made an unsuccessful blow at the supremacy of England, by my pamphlet on the expected rupture with Spain; and I have also fairly mentioned that I found nobody who ventured to second

my attempt, or paid the least attention to the doctrine I endeavored to disseminate. But the rapid succession of events, and, above all, the explosion which had taken place in France, and blown into the elements a despotism rooted for fourteen centuries, had thoroughly aroused all Europe, and the eyes of every man, in every quarter, were turned anxiously on the French National Assembly. In England, Burke had the triumph completely to decide the public; fascinated by an eloquent publication, which flattered so many of their prejudices, and animated by their unconquerable hatred of France, which no change of circumstances could alter, the whole English nation, it may be said, retracted from their first decision in favor of the glorious and successful efforts of the French people; they sickened at the prospect of the approaching liberty and happiness of that mighty nation: they calculated, as merchants, the probable effects which the energy of regenerated France might have on their commerce; they rejoiced when they saw the combination of despots formed to restore the ancient system, and perhaps to dismember the monarchy; and they waited with impatience for an occasion, which, happily for mankind, they soon found, when they might, with some appearance of decency, engage in person in the infamous contest.

But matters were very different in Ireland, an oppressed, insulted, and plundered nation. As we well knew, experimentally, what it was to be enslaved, we sympathised most sincerely with the French people, and watched their progress to freedom with the utmost anxiety; we had not, like England, a prejudice rooted in our very nature against France. As the revolution advanced, and as events expanded themselves, the public spirit of Ireland rose with a rapid acceleration. The fears and animosities of the aristocracy rose in the same, or a still higher proportion. In a little time the French revolution became the test of every man's political creed, and the nation was fairly divided into two great parties, the Aristocrats and the Democrats, (epithets borrowed from France,) who have ever since been measuring each other's strength, and carrying on a kind of smothered war, which the course of events, it is highly probable, may soon call into energy and action.

It is needless, I believe, to say that I was a Democrat from the very commencement, and, as all the retainers of Govern-

ment, including the sages and judges of the law, were, of course, on the other side; this gave the *coup de grace* to any expectations, if any such I had, of my succeeding at the bar, for I soon became pretty notorious; but, in fact, I had for some time renounced all hope, and, I may say, all desire, of succeeding in a profession which I always disliked, and which the political prostitution of its members (though otherwise men of high honor and of great personal worth) had taught me sincerely to despise. I therefore seldom went near the four courts, nor did I adopt any one of the means, and, least of all, the study of the law, which are successfully employed by those young men whose object it is to rise in their profession.

As I came, about this period, rather more forward than I had hitherto done, it is necessary for understanding my history, to take a rapid survey of the state of parties in Ireland, that is to say, of the members of the established religion, the Dissenters and the Catholics.

The first party, whom, for distinction's sake, I call the Protestants, though not above the tenth of the population, were in possession of the whole of the government, and of five-sixths of the landed property of the nation; they were, and had been, for above a century, in the quiet enjoyment of the church, the law, the revenue, the army, the navy, the magistracy, the corporations, in a word, of the whole patronage of Ireland. With properties whose title was founded in massacre and plunder, and being, as it were, but a colony of foreign usurpers in the land, they saw no security for their persons and estates, but in a close connexion with England, who profited of their fears, and, as the price of her protection, exacted the implicit surrender of the commerce and liberties of Ireland. Different events, particularly the revolution in America, had enabled and emboldened the other two parties, of whom I am about to speak, to hurry the Protestants into measures highly disagreeable to England and beneficial to their country; but, in which, from accidental circumstances, they durst not refuse to concur. The spirit of the corps, however, remained unchanged, as they have manifested on every occasion since, which chance has offered. This party, therefore, so powerful by their property and influence, were implicitly devoted to England, which they esteemed necessary for the security of their existence; they

adopted, in consequence, the sentiments and the language of the British cabinet; they dreaded and abhorred the principles of the French revolution, and were, in one word, an aristocracy, in the fullest and most odious extent of the term.

The dissenters who formed the second party, were at least twice as numerous as the first. Like them, they were a colony of foreigners in their origin, but, being mostly engaged in trade and manufactures, with few overgrown landed proprietors among them, they did not, like them, feel that a slavish dependence on England was essential to their very existence. Strong in their numbers and their courage, they felt that they were able to defend themselves, and they soon ceased to consider themselves as any other than Irishmen. It was the dissenters who composed the flower of the famous volunteer army of 1782, which extorted from the English minister the restoration of what is affected to be called the constitution of Ireland; it was they who first promoted and continued the demand of a parliamentary reform, in which, however, they were baffled by the superior address and chicanery of the aristocracy; and it was they, finally, who were the first to stand forward, in the most decided and unqualified manner, in support of the principles of the French revolution.

The Catholics, who composed the third party, were above two-thirds of the nation, and formed, perhaps, a still greater proportion. They embraced the entire peasantry of three provinces, they constituted a considerable portion of the mercantile interest, but, from the tyranny of the penal laws enacted at different periods against them, they possessed but a very small proportion of the landed property, perhaps not a fiftieth part of the whole. It is not my intention here to give a detail of that execrable and infamous code, framed with the art and the malice of demons, to plunder and degrade and brutalize the Catholics. Suffice it to say, that there was no injustice, no disgrace, no disqualification, moral, political, or religious, civil or military, that was not heaped upon them; it is with difficulty that I restrain myself from entering into the abominable detail; but it is the less necessary, as it is to be found in so many publications of the day. This horrible system, pursued for above a century with unrelenting acrimony and perseverance, had wrought its full effect, and had, in fact, reduced the great

body of the Catholic peasantry of Ireland to a situation, morally and physically speaking, below that of the beasts of the field. The spirit of their few remaining gentry was broken, and their minds degraded; and it was only in the class of their merchants and traders, and a few members of the medical profession, who had smuggled an education in despite of the penal code, that any thing like political sensation existed. Such was pretty nearly the situation of the three great parties at the commencement of the French revolution, and certainly a much more gloomy prospect could not well present itself to the eyes of any friend to liberty and his country. But, as the luminary of truth and freedom in France, advanced rapidly to its meridian splendor, the public mind in Ireland was proportionably illuminated; and to the honor of the dissenters of Belfast be it said, they were the first to reduce to practice their newly received principles, and to show, by being just, that they were deserving to be free.

The dominion of England in Ireland had been begun and continued in the disunion of the great sects which divided the latter country.* In effectuating this disunion, the protestant party were the willing instruments, as they saw clearly that if ever the Dissenters and Catholics were to discover their true interests, and forgetting their former ruinous dissentions, were to unite cordially, and make common cause, the downfal of English supremacy, and, of course, of their own unjust monopoly, would be the necessary and immediate consequence. They therefore labored continually, and, for a long time, successfully, to keep the other two sects asunder, and the English government had even the address to persuade the Catholics that the non-execution of the penal laws, which were, in fact, too atrocious to be enforced in their full rigor, was owing to their clemency; that the protestants and dissenters, but especially the latter, were the enemies, and themselves, in effect, the protectors of the Catholic people. Under this arrangement, the machine of government moved forward on carpet ground, but the time was, at length, come, when this system of iniquity was to tumble in the dust, and the day of truth and reason to commence.

* At least since the reign of Elizabeth and James I.

So far back as the year 1783, the volunteers of Belfast had instructed their deputies to the convention, held in Dublin, for the purpose of framing a plan of parliamentary reform, to support the equal admission of the Catholics to the rights of freemen. In this instance of liberality, they were then almost alone; for it is their fate in political wisdom ever to be in advance of their countrymen; it was sufficient, however, to alarm the Government, who immediately procured from Lord Kenmare, at that time esteemed the leader of the Catholics, a solemn disavowal, in the name of the body, of any wish to be restored to their long lost rights. Prostrate as the Catholics were at that period, this last insult was too much; they instantly assembled their General Committee, and disavowed Lord Kenmare and his disavowal, observing at the same time that they were not framed so differently from all other men as to be in love with their own degradation. The majority of the volunteer convention, however, resolved to consider the infamous declaration of Lord Kenmare as the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, and, in consequence, the emancipation of that body made no part of their plan of reform. The consequence natural to such folly and injustice immediately ensued: the Government, seeing the convention, by their own act, separate themselves from the great mass of the people, who could alone give them effective force, held them at defiance, and that formidable assembly which, under better principles, might have held the fate of Ireland in their hands, was broken up with disgrace and ignominy, a memorable warning that those who know not to render their just rights to others, will be found incapable of firmly adhering to their own.

The General Committee of the Catholics, of which I have spoken above, and which, since the year 1792, has made a distinguished feature in the politics of Ireland, was a body composed of their bishops, their country gentlemen, and of a certain number of merchants and traders, all resident in Dublin, but named by the Catholics in the different towns corporate to represent them. The original object of this institution was to obtain the repeal of a partial and oppressive tax called quarterage, which was levied on the Catholics only, and the Government, which found the committee at first a convenient instrument on some occasions, connived at their existence. So de-

graded was the Catholic mind at the period of the formation of their committee, about 1770, and long after, that they were happy to be allowed to go up to the Castle with an abominable slavish address to each successive Vice Roy, of which, moreover, until the accession of the Duke of Portland, in 1782, so little notice was taken that his Grace was the first who condescended to give them an answer; and, indeed, for above twenty years, the sole business of the General Committee was to prepare and deliver in those records of their depression. The effort which an honest indignation had called forth at the time of the volunteer convention in 1783, seemed to have exhausted their strength, and they sunk back into their primitive nullity. Under this appearance of apathy, however, a new spirit was gradually arising in the body, owing, principally, to the exertions and the example of one man, John Keogh, to whose services his country, and more especially the Catholics, are singularly indebted. In fact, the downfal of feudal tyranny was acted in little on the theatre of the General Committee. The influence of their clergy and of their barons was gradually undermined, and the third estate, the commercial interest, rising in wealth and power, was preparing, by degrees, to throw off the yoke, in the imposing, or, at least, the continuing of which the leaders of the body, I mean the prelates and aristocracy, to their disgrace be it spoken, were ready to concur. Already had those leaders, acting in obedience to the orders of the government, which held them in fetters, suffered one or two signal defeats in the committee, owing principally to the talents and address of John Keogh; the parties began to be defined, and a sturdy democracy of new men, with bolder views and stronger talents, soon superseded the timid counsels and slavish measures of the ancient aristocracy. Every thing seemed tending to a better order of things among the Catholics, and an occasion soon offered to call the energy of their new leaders into action.

The dissenters of the north, and more especially of the town of Belfast, are, from the genius of their religion, and from the superior diffusion of political information among them, sincere and enlightened republicans. They had ever been foremost in the pursuit of parliamentary reform, and I have already mentioned the early wisdom and virtue of the town of Belfast in proposing the emancipation of the Catholics, so far back as the

year 1783. The French revolution had awakened all parties in the nation from the stupor in which they lay plunged, from the time of the dispersion of the ever memorable volunteer convention, and the citizens of Belfast were the first to raise their heads from the abyss, and to look the situation of their country steadily in the face. They saw at a glance their true object, and the only means to obtain it; conscious that the force of the existing government was such as to require the united efforts of the whole Irish people to subvert it, and, long convinced in their own minds that to be free it was necessary to be just, they cast their eyes once more on the long neglected Catholics, and profiting of past errors, for which, however, they had not to accuse themselves, they determined to begin on a new system, and to raise the structure of the liberty and independence of their country, on the broad basis of equal rights to the whole people.

The Catholics, on their part, were rapidly advancing in political spirit and information. Every month, every day, as the revolution in France went prosperously forward, added to their courage and their force, and the hour seemed at last arrived, when, after a dreary oppression of above one hundred years, they were once more to appear on the political theatre of their country. They saw the brilliant prospect of success, which events in France opened to their view, and they determined to avail themselves with promptitude of that opportunity, which never returns to those who omit it. For this, the active members of the General Committee resolved to set on foot an immediate application to Parliament, praying for a repeal of the penal laws. The first difficulty they had to surmount, arose in their own body; their peers, their gentry, (as they affected to call themselves,) and their prelates, either seduced or intimidated by Government, gave the measure all possible opposition; and, at length, after a long contest, in which both parties strained every nerve, and produced the whole of their strength, the question was decided on a division in the committee, by a majority of at least six to one, in favor of the intended application. The triumph of the young democracy was complete; but, though the aristocracy were defeated, they were not yet entirely broken down. By the instigation of Government they had the meanness to secede from the General

Committee, to disavow their acts, and even to publish in the papers, that they did not wish to embarrass the Government by advancing their claims of emancipation. It is difficult to conceive such a degree of political degradation; but what will not the tyranny of an execrable system produce in time? Sixty-eight gentlemen, individually of high spirit, were found, who, publicly, and in a body, deserted their party, and their own just claims, and even sanctioned this pitiful desertion by the authority of their signatures. Such an effect had the operation of the penal laws on the minds of the Catholics of Ireland, as proud a race as any in all Europe!

But I am in some degree anticipating matters, and, indeed, instead of a few memorandums relating to myself, I find myself embarking in a kind of *history of my own times;* let me return and condense as much as I can. The first attempts of the Catholic Committee failed totally; endeavoring to accommodate all parties, they framed a petition so humble that it ventured to ask for nothing, and even this petition they could not find a single member of the Legislature to present; of so little consequence, in the year 1790, was the great mass of the Irish people! Not disheartened, however, by this defeat, they went on, and in the interval between that and the approaching session, they were preparing measures for a second application. In order to add a greater weight and consequence to their intended petition, they brought over to Ireland Richard Burke, only son of the celebrated Edmund, and appointed him their agent to conduct their application to Parliament. This young man came over with considerable advantages, and especially with the *eclat* of his father's name, who, the Catholics concluded, and very reasonably, would, for his sake, if not for theirs, assist his son with his advice and directions. But their expectations in the event proved abortive. Richard Burke, with a considerable portion of talents from nature, and cultivated, as may be well supposed, with the utmost care by his father, who idolized him, was utterly deficient in judgment, in temper, and especially in the art of managing parties. In three or four months' time, during which he remained in Ireland, he contrived to embroil himself, and, in a certain degree, the committee, with all parties in Parliament, the Opposition as well as the Government, and, finally, desiring to drive his employers into mea-

sures, of which they disapproved; and thinking himself strong enough to go on without the assistance of the men who introduced, and, as long as their duty would permit, supported him, in which he miserably deceived himself, he ended his short and turbulent career by breaking with the General Committee. That body, however, treated him respectfully to the last, and, on his departure, they sent a deputation to thank him for his exertions, and presented him with the sum of two thousand guineas.

It was pretty much about this time that my connexion with the Catholic body commenced, in the manner which I am about to relate. I cannot pretend to strict accuracy as to dates, for I write entirely from memory; all my papers being in America.

Russell had, on his arrival to join his regiment at Belfast, found the people so much to his taste, and in return had rendered himself so agreeable to them, that he was speedily admitted into their confidence, and became a member of several of their clubs. This was an unusual circumstance, as British officers, it may well be supposed, were no great favorites with the Republicans of Belfast. The Catholic question was, at this period, beginning to attract the public notice; and the Belfast volunteers, on some public occasion, I know not precisely what, wished to come forward with a declaration in its favor. For this purpose Russell, who, by this time, was entirely in their confidence, wrote to me to draw up and transmit to him such a declaration as I thought proper, which I accordingly did. A meeting of the corps was held in consequence, but an opposition unexpectedly arising to that part of the declarations which alluded directly to the Catholic claims, that passage was, for the sake of unanimity, withdrawn for the present, and the declarations then passed unanimously. Russell wrote me an account of all this, and it immediately set me on thinking more seriously than I had yet done upon the state of Ireland. I soon formed my theory, and on that theory I have unvaryingly acted ever since.

To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never-failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country—these were my objects. To unite the whole people of

Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissentions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman, in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter—these were my means. To effectuate these great objects, I reviewed the three great sects. The Protestants I despaired of from the outset, for obvious reasons. Already in possession, by an unjust monopoly, of the whole power and patronage of the country, it was not to be supposed they would ever concur in measures, the certain tendency of which must be to lessen their influence as a party, how much soever the nation might gain. To the Catholics I thought it unnecessary to address myself, because, that, as no change could make their political situation worse, I reckoned upon their support to a certainty; besides, they had already begun to manifest a strong sense of their wrongs and oppressions; and, finally, I well knew that, however it might be disguised or suppressed, there existed in the breast of every Irish Catholic, an inextirpable abhorrence of the English name and power. There remained only the Dissenters, whom I knew to be patriotic and enlightened; however, the recent events at Belfast had shewed me that all prejudice was not yet entirely removed from their minds. I sat down accordingly, and wrote a pamphlet, addressed to the dissenters, and which I entitled "An Argument on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland," the object of which was to convince them that they and the Catholics had but one common interest, and one common enemy; that the depression and slavery of Ireland was produced and perpetuated by the divisions existing between them, and that, consequently, to assert the independence of their country, and their own individual liberties, it was necessary to forget all former feuds, to consolidate the entire strength of the whole nation, and to form for the future but one people. These principles I supported by the best arguments which suggested themselves to me, and particularly by demonstrating that the cause of the failure of all former efforts, and more especially of the Volunteer Convention in 1783, was the unjust neglect of the claims of their Catholic brethren. This pamphlet, which appeared in September, 1791, under the signature of a Northern Whig, had a considerable degree of success. The Catholics (*with not one of whom I was at the time acquainted*) were pleased with the efforts of a volunteer in their cause, and distributed

it in all quarters. The people of Belfast, of whom I had spoken with the respect and admiration I sincerely felt for them, and to whom I was also perfectly unknown, printed a very large edition, which they dispersed through the whole North of Ireland, and I have the great satisfaction to believe that many of the dissenters were converted by my arguments. It is like vanity to speak of my own performances so much; and the fact is, I believe that I am somewhat vain on that topic; but, as it was the immediate cause of my being made known to the Catholic body, I may be, perhaps, excused for dwelling upon a circumstance, which I must ever look on, for that reason, as one of the most fortunate of my life. As my pamphlet spread more and more, my acquaintance amongst the Catholics extended accordingly. My first friend in the body was John Keogh, and through him I became acquainted with all the leaders, as Richard McCormick, John Sweetman, Edward Byrne, Thomas Braughall, in short, the whole sub-committee, and most of the active members of the General Committee. It was a kind of fashion this winter (1791) among the Catholics to give splendid dinners to their political friends, in and out of Parliament, and I was always a guest, of course. I was invited to a grand dinner, given to Richard Burke, on his leaving Dublin, together with William Todd Jones, who had distinguished himself by a most excellent pamphlet in favor of the Catholic cause, as well as to several entertainments, given by clubs and associations; in short I began to grow into something like reputation, and my company was, in a manner, a requisite at all the entertainments of that winter.

But this was not all. The volunteers of Belfast, of the first or green company, were pleased, in consequence of my pamphlet, to elect me an honorary member of their corps, a favor which they were very delicate in bestowing, as I believe I was the only person, except the great Henry Flood, who was ever honored with that mark of their approbation. I was also invited to spend a few days in Belfast, in order to assist in framing the first club of United Irishmen, and to cultivate a personal acquaintance with those men whom, though I highly esteemed, I knew as yet but by reputation. In consequence, about the beginning of October, I went down with my friend Russell, who had, by this time, quit the army, and was in Dublin, on

his private affairs. The incidents of that journey, which was by far the most agreeable and interesting one I had ever made, I recorded in a kind of diary, a practice which I then commenced, and have ever since, from time to time, continued, as circumstances of sufficient importance occurred. To that diary I refer. It is sufficient here to say, that my reception was of the most flattering kind, and that I found the men of the most distinguished public virtue in the nation the most estimable in all the domestic relations of life: I had the good fortune to render myself agreeable to them, and a friendship was then formed between us which I think it will not be easy to shake. It is a kind of injustice to name individuals, yet I cannot refuse myself the pleasure of observing how peculiarly fortunate I esteem myself in having formed connexions with Samuel Neilson, Robert Simms, William Simms, William Sinclair, Thomas Mc Cabe: I may as well stop here; for, in enumerating my most particular friends, I find I am, in fact, making out a list of the men of Belfast most distinguished for their virtue, talent, and patriotism. To proceed. We formed our club, of which I wrote the declaration, and certainly the formation of that club commenced a new epoch in the politics of Ireland. At length, after a stay of about three weeks, which I look back upon as perhaps the pleasantest in my life, Russell and I returned to Dublin, with instructions to cultivate the leaders in the popular interest, being Protestants, and, if possible, to form, in the capital, a club of United Irishmen. Neither Russell nor myself were known to one of those leaders; however, we soon contrived to get acquainted with James Napper Tandy, who was the principal of them, and, through him, with several others, so that, in a little time, we succeeded, and a club was accordingly formed, of which the Honorable Simon Butler was the first chairman, and Tandy the first secretary. The club adopted the declaration of their brethren of Belfast, with whom they immediately opened a correspondence. It is but justice to an honest man who has been persecuted for his firm adherence to his principles, to observe here, that Tandy, in coming forward on this occasion, well knew that he was putting to the most extreme hazard his popularity among the corporations of the city of Dublin, with whom he had enjoyed the most unbounded influence for near twenty years; and, in fact, in the event, his popular-

ity was sacrificed. That did not prevent, however, his taking his part decidedly: he had the firmness to forego the gratification of his private feelings for the good of his country. The truth is, Tandy was a very sincere republican, and it did not require much argument to show him the impossibility of attaining a Republic by any means short of the united powers of the whole people; he therefore renounced the lesser object for the greater, and gave up the certain influence which he possessed (and had well earned) in the city, for the contingency of that influence which he might have (and well deserves to have) in the nation. For my own part, I think it right to mention, that, at this time, the establishment of a Republic was not the immediate object of my speculations. My object was to secure the independence of my country under any form of government, to which I was led by a hatred of England, so deeply rooted in my nature, that it was rather an instinct than a principle. I left to others, better qualified for the inquiry, the investigation and merits of the different forms of government, and I contented myself with laboring on my own system, which was luckily in perfect coincidence as to its operation with that of those men who viewed the question on a broader and juster scale than I did at the time I mention. But to return. The club was scarcely formed before I lost all pretensions to any thing like influence in their measures, a circumstance which at first mortified me not a little, and perhaps, had I retained more weight in their councils, I might have prevented, as on some occasions I labored unsuccessfully to prevent, their running into indiscretions, which gave their enemies but too great advantages over them. It is easy to be wise after the event. So it was, however, that I soon sunk into obscurity in the club, which, however, I had the satisfaction to see daily increasing in numbers and consequence. The Catholics, particularly, flocked in in crowds, as well as some of the Protestant members of corporations most distinguished for their liberality and public spirit on former occasions; and, indeed, I must do the society the justice to say, that I believe there never existed a political body which included amongst its members a greater portion of sincere uncorrupted patriotism, as well as a very respectable proportion of talents. Their publications, mostly written by Dr. Drennan, and many of them admirably well done, began to draw the

public attention, especially as they were evidently the production of a society utterly disclaiming all party views or motives, and acting on a broad original scale, not sparing those who called themselves patriots more than those who were the habitual slaves of the Government; a system in which I heartily concurred, having long entertained a more serious contempt for what is called *opposition* than for the common prostitutes of the treasury bench, who want at least the vice of hypocrisy. At length the Solicitor General, in speaking of the society, having made use of expressions in the House of Commons extremely offensive, an explanation was demanded of him by Simon Butler, chairman, and Tandy, secretary. Butler was satisfied—Tandy was not; and, after several messages, which it is not my affair to detail, the Solicitor General at length complained to the House of a breach of privilege, and Tandy was ordered, in the first instance, into custody. He was in consequence arrested by a messenger, from whom he found means to make his escape, and immediately a proclamation was issued, offering a reward for taking him. The society now was in a difficult situation, and I thought myself called upon to make an effort, at all hazards to myself, to prevent its falling by any improper timidity in the public opinion. We were in fact committed with the House of Commons on the question of privilege, and having fairly engaged in the contest, it was impossible to recede without a total forfeiture of character. Under these circumstances, I cast my eyes on Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a distinguished member of the society, whose many virtues, public and private, had set his name above the reach of even the malevolence of party, whose situation in life was of the most respectable rank, if ranks be indeed respectable, and, above all, whose personal courage was not to be shaken, a circumstance, in the actual situation of affairs, of the last importance. To Rowan, therefore, I applied; I showed him that the current of public opinion was rather setting against us in this business, and that it was necessary that some of us should step forward and expose ourselves, at all risks, to show the House of Commons, and the nation at large, that we were not to be intimidated or put down so easily. I offered, if he would take the chair, that I would, with the society's permission, act as secretary, and that we would give our signatures to such publi-

cations as circumstances might render necessary. Rowan instantly agreed, and, accordingly, on the next night of meeting, he was chosen chairman, and I pro-secretary, in the absence of Tandy; and the society having agreed to the resolutions proposed, which were worded in a manner very offensive to the dignity of the House of Commons, and, in fact, amounted to a challenge of their authority, we inserted them in all the newspapers, and printed 5,000 copies, with our names affixed.

The least that Rowan and I expected in consequence of this step, which, under the circumstances, was, I must say, rather a bold one, was to be committed to Newgate for a breach of privilege, and perhaps exposed to personal discussions with some of the members of the House of Commons; for he proposed, and I agreed, that, if any disrespectful language was applied to either of us in any debate which might arise on the business, we would attack the person, whoever he might be, immediately, and oblige him either to recant his words or give battle. All our determination, however, came to nothing. The House of Commons, either content with their victory over Tandy, who was obliged to conceal himself for some time, or not thinking Rowan and myself objects sufficiently important to attract their notice, or perhaps, which I rather believed, not wishing just then to embroil themselves with a man of Rowan's firmness and courage, not to speak of his great and justly merited popularity, took no notice whatsoever of our resolutions, and, in this manner, he and I had the good fortune, and, I may say, the merit, to rescue the society from a situation of considerable difficulty without any actual suffering, though certainly with some personal hazard on our part. We had likewise the satisfaction to see the society, instead of losing ground, rise rapidly in the public opinion by their firmness on the occasion. Shortly after, on the last day of the sessions, Tandy appeared in public, and was taken into custody, the whole society attending him in a body to the House of Commons. He was ordered by the Speaker to be committed to Newgate, whither he was conveyed, the society attending him as before, and the Parliament being prorogued in half an hour after, he was liberated immediately, and escorted in triumph to his own house. On this occasion Rowan and I attended of course, and were in the gallery of the House of Commons. As we were not sure

but we might be attacked ourselves, we took pains to place ourselves in a conspicuous situation, and to wear our whig club uniforms, which were rather gaudy, in order to signify to all whom it might concern, that there we were. A good many of the members, we observed, remarked us, but no further notice was taken: our names were never mentioned; the whole business passed over quietly, and I resigned my pro-secretaryship, being the only office I ever held in the society, into the hands of Tandy, who resumed his functions. This was in Spring 1792: I should observe, that the day after the publication abovementioned, when I attended near the House of Commons in expectation of being called before them to answer for what I had done, and had requested my friend, Sir Lawrence Parsons, to give me notice, in order that I might present myself, the house took fire by accident, and was burned to the ground.

The Society of United Irishmen beginning to attract the public notice considerably, in consequence of the events which I have mentioned, and it being pretty generally known that I was principally instrumental in its formation, I was one day surprized by a visit from the barrister, who had about two years before spoken to me on the part of the whig leaders, a business of which I had long since discharged my memory. He told me he was sorry to see the new line I was adopting in politics, the more so as I might rely upon it that the principles I now held would never be generally adopted, and consequently I was devoting myself without advancing any beneficial purpose; he also testified to me surprize at my conduct, and insinuated pretty directly, though with great civility, that I had not kept faith with the whigs, with whom he professed to understand I had connected myself, and whom, in consequence, I ought to have consulted before I took so decided a line of conduct as I had lately done. I did not like the latter part of his discourse at all; however, I answered him with great civility on my part, that, as to the principles he mentioned, I had not adopted them without examination; that, as to the pamphlet I had written in the Catholic cause, I had not advanced a syllable which I did not conscientiously believe, and, consequently, I was neither inclined to repent nor retract; as to my supposed connexion with the whigs, I reminded him that I had not sought them; on the contrary, they had sought me; if they had, on

reflection, not thought me worth cultivating, that was no fault of mine. I observed, also, that Mr. George Ponsonby, whom I looked upon as principal in the business, had never spoken to me above a dozen times in my life, and then merely on ordinary topics; that I was too proud to be treated in that manner, and, if I was supposed capable to render service to the party, it would only be by confiding in, and communicating with me, that I could be really serviceable, and on that footing only would I consent to be treated; that probably Mr. Ponsonby would think that rather a lofty declaration, but it was my determination, the more as I knew he was rather a proud man. Finally, I observed, he had my permission to report all this, and that I looked on myself as under no tie of obligation whatsoever; that I had written a pamphlet, unsolicited, in favor of the party; that I had consequently been employed in a business, professionally, which produced me eighty guineas; that I looked on myself as sufficiently rewarded, but I also considered the money as fully earned; that I had at present taken my party; that my principles were known, and I was not at all disposed to retract them; what I had done I had done, and I was determined to abide by it. My friend then said he was sorry to see me so obstinate in what he must consider an indiscreet line of conduct, and protesting that his principal object was to serve me, in which I believed him, he took his leave, and this put an end completely to the idea of a connexion with the whigs. I spoke rather haughtily in this affair, because I was somewhat provoked at the insinuation of duplicity, and, besides, I wished to have a blow at Mr. George Ponsonby, who seemed desirous to retain me as a kind of pamphleteer in his service, at the same time that he industriously avoided any thing like communication with me, a situation to which I was neither so weak nor so mean as to suffer myself to be reduced; and as I well knew he was one of the proudest men in Ireland, I took care to speak on a footing of the most independent equality. After this discussion, I for the second time dismissed all idea of Ponsonby and the whigs, but I had good reason, a long time after, to believe that he had not so readily forgotten the business as I did, and indeed he was very near having his full revenge of me, as I shall mention in its place.

I have already observed that the first attempts of the Catholic Committee, after the secession of their aristocracy, were totally unsuccessful. In 1790, they could not even find a member of Parliament who would condescend to present their petition. In 1791, Richard Burke, their then agent, had prepared, on their behalf, a very well written philippic, but which certainly was no petition, which, after considerable difficulties, resulting in a great degree from his want of temper and discretion, after being offered to, and accepted by, different members, was at length finally refused, a circumstance which, by disgusting him extremely with all parties, I believe determined him to quit Ireland. After his departure, another petition was prepared and presented by * * *, but no unfortunate paper was ever so maltreated. The committee in general, and its more active and ostensible members in particular, were vilified and abused in the grossest manner; they were called a rabble of obscure porter-drinking mechanics, without property, pretensions, or influence, who met in holes and corners, and fancied themselves the representatives of the Catholic body, who disavowed and despised them; the independence and respectability of the sixty-eight renegadoes who had set their hands so infamously to their act of apostacy, were extolled to the skies, while the lowest and most clumsy personalities were heaped upon the leaders of the committee, particularly Edward Byrne and John Keogh, who had the honor to be selected from their brethren, and exposed as butts for the small wit of the prostitutes of the Government. Finally, the petition of the Catholics, three millions of people, was, by special motion of David Latouche, taken off the table of the House of Commons, where it had been suffered to lie for three days, and rejected. Never was an address to a legislative body more unpitifully used. The people of Belfast, rapidly advancing in the career of wisdom and liberality, had presented a petition in behalf of the Catholics much more pointed than that which they presented for themselves, for their petition was extremely guarded, asking only the right of elective franchise, and equal admission to grand juries, whereas that of Belfast prayed for their entire admission to all the rights of citizens. This petition was, also, on motion of the same member, taken off the table and rejected, and the two papers sent forth together to wander as they might.

There seems, from this time out, a special providence to have watched over the affairs of Ireland, and to have turned to her profit and advantage the deepest laid and most artful schemes of her enemies. Every measure adopted, and skilfully adopted, to thwart the expectations of the Catholics, and to crush the rising spirit of union between them and the dissenters, has, without exception, only tended to confirm and fortify both, and the fact I am about to mention, for one, is a striking proof of the truth of this assertion. The principal charge in the general outcry raised in the House of Commons against the General Committee was, that they were a self-appointed body, not nominated by the Catholics of the nation, and, consequently, not authorised to speak on their behalf. This argument, which, in fact, was the truth, was triumphantly dwelt upon by the enemies of the Catholics; but, in the end, it would have perhaps been more fortunate for their wishes, if they had not laid such a stress upon this circumstance, and drawn the line of separation so strongly between the General Committee and the body at large. For the Catholics throughout Ireland, who had hitherto been indolent spectators of the business, seeing their brethren of Dublin, and especially the General Committee, insulted and abused for their exertions in pursuit of that liberty which, if attained, must be a common blessing to all, came forward as one man from every quarter of the nation, with addresses and resolutions, adopting the measures of the General Committee as their own, declaring that body the only organ competent to speak for the Catholics of Ireland, and condemning, in terms of the most marked disapprobation and contempt, the conduct of the sixty-eight apostates, who were so triumphantly held up by the hirelings of government, as the respectable part of the Catholic community. The question was now fairly decided. The aristocracy shrunk back in disgrace and obscurity, leaving the field open to the democracy, and that body neither wanted talents nor spirit to profit of the advantages of their present situation.

The Catholics of Dublin were, at this period, to the Catholics of Ireland, what Paris, at the commencement of the French revolution, was to the Departments. Their sentiment was that of the nation, and whatever political measure they adopted was sure to be obeyed. Still, however, there was wanting a

personal communication between the general committee and their constituents in the country, and, as the Catholic question had now grown to considerable magnitude, so much indeed as to absorb all other political discussion, it became the first care of the leaders of the committee to frame a plan of organization for that purpose. It is to the sagacity of *Myles Keon, of Keonbrook, county Leitrim*, that his country is indebted for the system on which the General Committee was to be framed anew, in a manner that should render it impossible to bring it again in doubt whether that body were or not the organ of the Catholic will. His plan was to associate to the committee, as then constituted, two members from each county and great city, actual residents of the place which they represented, who were, however, only to be summoned upon extraordinary occasions, leaving the common routine of business to the original members, who, as I have already related, were all residents of Dublin. The committee, as thus constituted, would consist of half town, and half country members; and the elections for the latter he proposed should be held by means of primary and electoral assemblies, held, the first in each parish, the second in each county and great town. He likewise proposed, that the town members should be held to correspond regularly with their country associates, these with their immediate electors, and these again with the primary assemblies. A more simple and, at the same time, more comprehensive organization could not be devised. By this means the General Committee became the centre of a circle embracing the whole nation, and pushing its rays instantaneously to the remotest parts of the circumference. The plan was laid, in writing, before the general committee by Myles Keon, and, after mature discussion, the first part, relating to the association and election of the country members, was adopted with some slight variation; the latter part, relating to the constant communication with the mass of the people, was thought, under the circumstances, to be too hardy, and was, accordingly, dropped *sub silentio*.

About this time it was that the leaders of the committee cast their eyes upon me to fill the station left vacant by Richard Burke. It was, accordingly, proposed by my friend John Keogh to appoint me their agent, with the title of assistant secretary, and a salary of £200 sterling a year, during my

continuance in the service of the committee. This proposal was adopted unanimously. John Keogh and John Sweetman were ordered to wait on me, with the proposal in writing, to which I acceded immediately by a respectful answer, and I was that very day introduced in form to the sub-committee, and entered upon the functions of my new office.

I was now placed in a very honorable, but a very arduous situation. The committee having taken so decided a step as to propose a general election of members to represent the Catholic body throughout Ireland, was well aware that they would be exposed to attacks of all possible kinds, and they were not disappointed; they were prepared, however, to repel them, and the literary part of the warfare fell, of course, to my share. In reviewing the conduct of my predecessor, Richard Burke, I saw that the rock on which he split was an overweening opinion of his own talents and judgment, and a desire, which he had not art enough to conceal, of guiding, at his pleasure, the measures of the committee. I, therefore, determined to model my conduct with the greatest caution in that respect; I seldom or never offered my opinion unless it was called for in the sub-committee, but contented myself with giving my sentiments, without reserve, in private, to the two men I most esteemed, and who had, in their respective capacities, the greatest influence on that body—I mean John Keogh and Richard McCormick, Secretary to the General Committee. My discretion in this respect was not unobserved, and I very soon acquired, and I may say, without vanity, I deserved the entire confidence and good opinion of the Catholics. The fact is, I was devoted most sincerely to their cause, and being now retained in their service, I would have sacrificed every thing to ensure their success, and they knew it. I am satisfied they looked upon me as a faithful and zealous advocate, neither to be intimidated nor corrupted, and in that respect they rendered me but justice. My circumstances were, at the time of my appointment, extremely embarrassed, and, of course, the salary annexed to my office was a considerable object with me. But though I had now an increasing family totally unprovided for, I can safely say that I would not have deserted my duty to the Catholics for the whole patronage of the Government if it were consolidated into one office, and of-

fered me as the reward. In these sentiments I was encouraged and confirmed by the incomparable spirit of my wife, to whose patient suffering under adversity, for we had often been reduced, and were now well accustomed to difficulties, I know not how to render justice. Women in general, I am sorry to say it, are mercenary, and especially if they have children, they are ready to make all sacrifices to their establishment. But my dearest love had bolder and juster views. On every occasion of my life I consulted her; we had no secrets, one from the other, and I unvaryingly found her think and act with energy and courage, combined with the greatest prudence and discretion. If ever I succeed in life, or arrive at any thing like station or eminence, I shall consider it as due to her counsels and her example. But to return. Another rule which I adopted for my conduct was in all the papers I had occasion to write, to remember I was not speaking for myself, but for the Catholic body, and consequently to be never wedded to my own compositions, but to receive the objections of every one with respect, and to change without reluctance whatever the committee thought fit to alter, even in cases where perhaps my own judgment was otherwise. And trifling as this circumstance may seem, I am sure it recommended me considerably to the committee, who had been, on former occasions, more than once embarrassed by the self-love of Richard Burke, and, indeed, even of some of their own body, men of considerable talents, who had written some excellent papers on their behalf, but who did not stand criticism as I did, without wincing. The fact is, I was so entirely devoted to their cause, that the idea of literary reputation as to myself never occurred to me, not that I am at all insensible on that score, but the feeling was totally absorbed in superior considerations; and I think I may safely appeal to the sub-committee, whether ever, on any occasion, they found me for a moment set up my vanity or self-love against their interests, or even their pleasure. I am sure that by my discretion on the points I have mentioned, which, indeed, was no more than my duty, I secured the esteem of the committee, and, consequently, an influence in their counsels, which I should justly have forfeited had I seemed too eager to assume it; and it is to the credit of both parties that, from the first moment of our connexion to the last, neither my zeal and anxiety to serve them, nor the kindness and favor with which

they received my efforts, were ever, for a single moment, suspended.

Almost the first business I had to transact was to conduct a correspondence with Richard Burke, who was very desirous to return to Ireland once more, and to resume his former station, which the committee were determined he should not do. It was a matter of some difficulty to refuse without offending him, and I must say he pressed us rather forcibly; however, we parried him with as much address as we could, and, after two or three long letters, to which the answers were very concise and civil, he found the business was desperate, and gave it up accordingly.

This (1792) was a memorable year in Ireland. The publication of the plan for the new organizing of the General Committee gave an instant alarm to all the supporters of the British Government, and every effort was made to prevent the election of the country members; for it was sufficiently evident that, if the representatives of three millions of oppressed people were once suffered to meet, it would not afterwards be safe, or indeed possible, to refuse their just demands. Accordingly, at the ensuing assizes, the grand juries, universally, throughout Ireland, published the most furious, I may say frantic, resolutions, against the plan and its authors, whom they charged with little short of high treason. Government, likewise, was too successful in gaining over the Catholic Clergy, particularly the Bishops, who gave the measure at first very serious opposition. The committee, however, was not daunted; and, satisfied of the justice of their cause, and of their own courage, they labored, and with success, to inspire the same spirit in the breasts of their brethren throughout the nation. For this purpose, their first step was an admirable one. By their order, I drew up a state of the case, with the plan for the organization of the committee annexed, which was laid before Simon Butler and Beresford Burton, two lawyers of great eminence, and, what was of consequence here, King's counsel, to know whether the committee had in any respect contravened the law of the land, or whether, by carrying the proposed plan into execution, the parties concerned would subject themselves to pain or penalty. The answers of both the lawyers were completely in our favor, and we instantly printed them in the papers, and dispersed them in handbills, letters, and all possible shapes. This blow was deci-

sive as to the legality of the measure. For the Bishops, whose opposition gave us great trouble, four or five different missions were undertaken by different members of the sub-committee, into the provinces, at their own expense, in order to hold conferences with them, in which, with much difficulty, they succeeded so far as to secure the co-operation of some, and the neutrality of the rest of the Prelates. On these missions the most active members were John Keogh and Thomas Braughall, neither of whom spared purse nor person where the interests of the Catholic body were concerned. I accompanied Mr. Braughall in his visit to Connaught, where he went to meet the gentry of that province at the great fair of Ballinasloe. As it was late in the evening when we left town, the postillion who drove us, having given warning, I am satisfied, to some footpads, the carriage was stopped by four or five fellows at the gate of the Phœnix Park. We had two cases of pistols in the carriage, and we agreed not to be robbed. Braughall, who was at this time about sixty-five years of age, and lame from a fall off his horse some years before, was as cool and intrepid as man could be. He took the command, and by his orders I let down all the glasses, and called out to the fellows to come on, if they were so inclined, for that we were ready; Braughall desiring me at the same time *not to fire, till I could touch the scoundrels.* This rather embarrassed them, and they did not venture to approach the carriage, but held a council of war at the horses' heads. I then presented one of my pistols at the postillion, swearing horribly that I would put him instantly to death if he did not drive over them, and I made him feel the muzzle of the pistol against the back of his head; the fellows on this took to their heels and ran off, and we proceeded on our journey without further interruption. When we arrived at the inn, Braughall, whose goodness of heart is equal to his courage, and no man is braver, began by abusing the postillion for his treachery, and ended by giving him half a crown. I wanted to break the rascal's bones, but he would not suffer me, and this was the end of our adventure.

All parties were now fully employed preparing for the ensuing session of Parliament. The Government, through the organ of the corporations and grand juries, opened a heavy fire upon us of manifestoes and resolutions. At first we were like young soldiers, a little stunned with the noise, but after a few rounds

we began to look about us, and seeing nobody drop with all this furious cannonade, we took courage and determined to return the fire. In consequence, wherever there was a meeting of the Protestant ascendency, which was the title assumed by that party, (and a very impudent one it was,) we took care it should be followed by a meeting of the Catholics, who spoke as loud, and louder than their adversaries, and, as we had the right clearly on our side, we found no great difficulty in silencing the enemy on this quarter. The Catholics likewise took care, at the same time that they branded their enemies, to mark their gratitude to their friends, who were daily increasing, and especially to the people of Belfast, between whom and the Catholics the union was now completely established. Among the various attacks made on us this summer, the most remarkable for their virulence, were those of the Grand Jury of Louth, headed by the Speaker of the House of Commons; of Limerick, at which the Lord Chancellor assisted; and of the Corporation of the city of Dublin; which last published a most furious manifesto, threatening us, in so many words- with a resistance by force. In consequence, a meeting was held of the Catholics of Dublin at large, which was attended by several thousands, where the manifesto of the corporation was read and most ably commented upon by John Keogh, Dr. Ryan, Dr. McNeven, and several others, and a counter-manifesto being proposed, which was written by my friend Emmet, and incomparably well done, it was carried unanimously, and published in all the papers, together with the speeches abovementioned; and both the speeches and the manifesto had such an infinite superiority over those of the corporation, which were also published and diligently circulated by the Government, that it put an end, effectually, to this warfare of resolutions.

The people of Belfast were not idle on their part; they spared neither pains nor expense to propagate the new doctrine of the union of Irishmen through the whole North of Ireland, and they had the satisfaction to see their proselytes rapidly extending in all directions. In order more effectually to spread their principles, twelve of the most active and intelligent among them subscribed 250*l.* each, in order to set on foot a paper, whose object should be to give a fair statement of all that passed in France, whither every one turned their eyes; to inculcate the

necessity of union amongst Irishmen of all religious persuasions; to support the emancipation of the Catholics; and, finally, as the necessary, though not avowed, consequence of all this, to erect Ireland into a republic, independent of England. This paper, which they called, very appositely, the Northern Star, was conducted by my friend Samuel Neilson, who was unanimously chosen editor, and it could not be delivered into abler hands. It is, in truth, a most incomparable paper, and it rose, instantly, on its appearance, with a most rapid and extensive sale. The Catholics every where through Ireland (I mean the leading Catholics) were, of course, subscribers, and the Northern Star was one great means of effectually accomplishing the union of the two great sects, by the simple process of making their mutual sentiments better known to each other.

It was determined by the people of Belfast to commemorate this year the anniversary of the taking of the Bastile with great ceremony. For this purpose they planned a review of the volunteers of the town and neighborhood, to be followed by a grand procession, with emblematical devices, &c. They also determined to avail themselves of this opportunity to bring forward the Catholic question in force, and, in consequence, they resolved to publish two addresses, one to the people of France, and one to the people of Ireland. They gave instructions to Dr. Drennan to prepare the former, and the latter fell to my lot. Drennan executed his task admirably, and I made my address, for my part, as good as I knew how. We were invited to assist at the ceremony, and a great number of the leading members of the Catholic committee determined to avail themselves of this opportunity to show their zeal for the success of the cause of liberty in France, as well as their respect and gratitude to their friends in Belfast. In consequence, a grand assembly took place on the 14th July. After the review, the volunteers and inhabitants, to the number of about 6,000, assembled in the Linen-Hall, and voted the address to the French people unanimously. The address to the people of Ireland followed, and, as it was directly and unequivocally in favor of the Catholic claims, we expected some opposition, but we were soon relieved from our anxiety, for the address passed, I may say, unanimously: a few ventured to oppose it indirectly, but their arguments were exposed and overset by the friends to Ca-

tholic emancipation, amongst the foremost of whom we had the satisfaction to see several dissenting clergymen of great popularity in that country, as Sinclair Kilburne, Wm. Dixon, and T. Birch. It was William Sinclair who moved the two addresses. It is the less necessary for me to detail what passed at this period, as every thing material is recorded in my diary. Suffice it to say, that the hospitality shown by the people of Belfast to the Catholics, on this occasion, and the personal acquaintance which the parties formed, rivetted the bonds of their recent union, and produced in the sequel the most beneficial and powerful effects.

CONTINUATION

Of the Life of THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, *by the Editor.*

In the preceding abstract, written at Paris, from memory, and amidst the most anxious cares, my father brought down the narrative of his life to the middle of July, 1792. From thence, to his arrival in France, elapsed a space of upwards of three years. I feel it my duty to account and apologize for the scantiness of my materials relative to this period, perhaps the most interesting of his career. It was during that time that, young and unknown, acting against all the power and influence of a party, secure in the long enjoyment of unopposed usurpation and insolent authority, he roused the energies of his oppressed countrymen, and rallied the mass of the people, so long divided by conflicting interests and religious animosities, to assert their national independence.

From the moment he engaged in this cause, he made it a rule to consign in a diary, destined for the sole perusal of his most intimate friends and family, the passing events of the times, his comments upon them, and his own thoughts and actions. Of this spirited and lively journal, we yet possess, and now publish, (Vol. II.) the part which begins at his arrival in France, and extends to the date of the last expedition where he perished. But, on his departure from America, he left in my mother's hands that which contained the diary of his efforts in Ireland, whilst forming the society of the United Irishmen, and acting as Agent and Secretary to the Catholic sub-

committee. The experience of our former journey had proved what little respect was then paid by the British cruizers to the neutral American flag, and how unsafe it would have been to have carried such papers along with him.

When, at the close of the year 1796, my mother sailed from America to join him, the same reasons still existed. As he had left with Dr. Reynolds, of Philadelphia, an old friend and associate in his political career, an unlimited power of attorney to protect his family and manage their affairs in his absence, she trusted to his charge all our little property in America, amounting to some hundreds of pounds sterling, a select library of six hundred volumes, and, above all, my father's papers, essays, and manuscripts, including those journals, and enclosed in a strong corded and sealed trunk, of which she kept the key. I am pained to add, that this sacred trust, this pledge of confidence and of friendship, he violated by an unpardonable negligence. Neither during my father's life, nor after his death, could our repeated demands, nor our letters and messages, by the most respectable and confidential friends who went to America, procure any answer. At length, in the year 1807, when the state of my health compelled us to undertake a sea voyage, and we came to Philadelphia, we called the unfortunate man to an account: but he could give none; and, reduced by repeated and severe illness, was then tottering on the verge of life. What could we do? Serious as the sacrifice was, in our circumstances, we offered him a full release for the remainder of the property, if he could only put us in the way of recovering the papers. But it was all in vain, for he had them not; he begged me to search his house, and I found the trunk broken open, and empty. With a great deal of difficulty I recovered some fragments dispersed in different hands, and now published. But his journals of the most important and interesting years, of 1793, 1794, and 1795, were irrecoverably gone. The manuscripts of the numerous pamphlets and essays, which my father composed at that time—a great number of which were anonymous, and often ascribed to other hands—as well as the materials of a philosophical and political history of Ireland, which he was then compiling, and had already begun to write, were also lost. Dr. Reynolds died within a few weeks, and we were obliged to give up all hopes of discovering them.

By this loss, inappreciable to our feelings, we are deprived of the means of tracing accurately my father's career during those three eventful years, in which he was constantly employed in supporting the spirit of union and independence in his country, and performing, as agent to the Catholic committees, those services which, by their parting vote of thanks, they declared "no gratitude could overrate, and no remuneration overpay." As it is not my purpose to write a history of Ireland, nor a political dissertation on the state of that country under its former, and never to be forgotten, nor forgiven, government, I will merely indicate, from my mother's recollections, and from the scanty materials which we have recovered, a few of those prominent events in which he was then engaged, and which may elucidate some passages in his subsequent memoirs.

Of the journals, which formed the most interesting part of this collection, we have recovered those of October, 1791, with some trifling fragments of an earlier date, those of July, August, September, October, and November, 1792, and part of January and February, 1793. My father states, in his own memoir, that he began to keep them regularly in 1791, when he engaged seriously in the politics of the day. From thence, they extended in a regular series to the middle of 1795, when he sailed for America; but all the remainder, though he frequently refers to them in his other writings, are irrecoverably lost. This loss may be partly supplied by a mutilated abstract of the operations of the General Committee and delegation which carried the petition of the Catholics to England, and of their subsequent negotiations with the Irish Government, from the beginning of December, 1792, to the end of April, 1793. This elegant and lucid report, which we will insert in this portion of his life, as it properly forms a continuation of it, will show how qualified he was to write that history of Ireland which he had begun, and of which it was probably destined to form a part.

Along with these papers, we have recovered his notes of the sittings of the Catholic General Committee, but in a very mutilated state, and written on flying scraps of paper during the debates, along with a few, relating to other periods of his life. These were the materials from whence his journals were afterwards written, when sitting, surrounded by his wife and children, as I yet remember him, in the evening leisure of his

home. Even in this state they are highly interesting. We have also recovered several hundred letters from his personal friends, and from the United Irishmen of Belfast and Dublin, filled with the daily details of their hopes, fears, and transactions. Of these we have selected a few to illustrate some portions of his life, but the greater number can be but of little interest to the public at this day, though they breathe all the fervor and spirit of the times. Some of his earlier manuscripts, and several of his printed essays, pamphlets, and smaller pieces, complete this collection, but the greater part of the latter are lost. Such are the materials out of which we must endeavor to trace this portion of my father's life.

We have already seen, in the preceding narrative, that, in 1791, he wrote that pamphlet, in favor of the Catholic cause, signed "A Northern Whig," whose success was so prodigious, and on which he was appointed secretary and agent to the subcommittee, in the place of Richard Burke. The following year, 1792, was the most busy period in his political career. In the course of a few months, constantly engaged in the same great pursuit, he performed three journeys to Belfast, to effect the union between the Catholics and Dissenters, in which he succeeded, at length, completely, besides several other journeys in Connaught, and elsewhere, to rally the Catholics themselves in the common cause, and calm the agitated passions of the dissenters. The details of these journeys, written in a most playful and lively style, are contained in the journals which we have saved, as well as his negotiations with the whig leaders, Grattan, Lord Moira, and the Marquis of Abercorn, on behalf of the Catholics. During the same period he founded the first clubs of the United Irishmen, whose organization and object were then very different from those which the tyranny of the Government afterwards drove them to, when they had spread all over the country. The primitive object of this society was merely to form a union of all religious denominations, whose members, abjuring every former feud, should join their efforts to reform the abuses of the government and constitution of the country, and restore the rights of free and equal citizenship to Irishmen of every sect and religion. Their oath of secrecy and regular organization were introduced at a later period, and by other leaders, when my father had ceased to have

any influence over them, and scarcely held any correspondence with their councils.

Towards the close of that year, 1792, his arduous efforts to unite the mass of the nation in the sacred cause of union and independence, presented more favorable symptoms of success than at any former period. The Catholics and Dissenters were united, and a new and complete system of representation was organized amongst the former, which enabled them to concentrate in one voice the grievances and opinions of 3,000,000 of men. This great result was obtained by the unremitting efforts of the sub-committee of Dublin, as well as of my father. They had been charged, especially after the defection of Lord Kenmare, and sixty-eight of the leading and aristocratical Catholics, who had seceded in the preceding year from the great body of their brethren, with assuming falsely the character of representatives of the Catholic interest. In consequence, after rousing, by every possible means, the spirit of their party through the whole Kingdom, and awakening them to a sense of their wrongs and grievances, they summoned from every county and city in Ireland, a number of fairly and freely elected representatives, to join in their deliberations.

In the beginning of December, 1792, that General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, which first represented the whole strength of their body, opened their meetings, and the single circumstance of their sitting, with all the forms of a legislative assembly, in the capital, produced a kind of awe and stupefaction in the Government. Never did such a convention begin its proceedings under auspices more favorable. Their friends were roused; their enemies stunned, and the British Government, extremely embarrassed at home, showed no desire to interfere From a letter of Richard Burke, mentioned in my father's journals of 23d and 24th July, 1792, and quoted in the Appendix, with his answer, they concluded that England was determined on remaining neutral in the controversy. To yield without a struggle, and recommend themselves as well as they could to the ruling party, as that gentleman advised, was a counsel too cowardly to be followed. They felt secure in their own strength, which their adversaries—and even their friends, (see Burke's letter) had much undervalued—in the spirit and union of the people, and in the support of the Dissenters, and

determined on bringing matters to a close, by addressing the monarch directly against their own government. Had they persevered in the same spirit with which they began, they would undoubtedly have succeeded.

The immediate purpose of this meeting was to draw a statement of their grievances, a vindication of the Catholics, and a petition to the King, and to address them directly to his Majesty, without sending them through the channel of the Irish administration. These papers, the first which fairly represented the whole extent of their grievances, and claimed the total repeal of those penal laws by which nine-tenths of the population were deprived of the rights of citizenship, and almost of humanity, in their own country, were all drawn by my father, the only Protestant in the assembly, and he accompanied the delegation which presented them to the Sovereign.

On this occasion I must observe, that, notwithstanding the affected alarm of the Irish Government at a mere playful and theoretical letter of his, which, as I have formerly stated, fell afterwards into their hands, at this time he only sought to obtain, without the struggles of a revolution, the gradual emancipation of his country by legal and constitutional means, by uniting the Dissenters and Catholics, who formed the mass of the people, to overwhelm the ruling and oppressive minority of the Protestant ascendency, and deprive it of its usurped privileges. And well would it have been for England if her administration had had the sense and determination to support the cause of justice, instead of that of oppression. The millions which have been expended, and the oceans of blood which have been shed in Ireland, would have been spared ; she would have secured the gratitude and attachment of its warm-hearted population, and acquired a faithful and useful ally to fight by her side in her subsequent contests, instead of a chained enemy, requiring the constant employment of half her forces to keep him pinned to the earth.

In the following narrative, the only circumstance which my father has past over in silence was his own share in those great events ; his part in these councils, and in planning and framing those acts ; as well as the two special votes of thanks which he received from the committee when they closed their sittings, the first in December, and the second in April. These will be

found in the Appendix. The beginning of this interesting abstract is lost, but it must have comprised the organization of this convention, and the account of its first meeting.

Account of the proceedings of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland; of the delegation which presented their petition to the King, and of the passage of the first bill for their relief.—By Theobald W. Tone.

The Catholics were thus once more, after a dreary interval of 104 years of slavery, fully and fairly represented by members of their own persuasion. The last Catholic assembly which Ireland had seen, was the Parliament, summoned by James II. in 1688, a body of men whose wisdom, spirit, and patriotism, reflect no discredit on their country or their sect. The great object of this Parliament was national supremacy. By an act of navigation they wisely guarded the commerce, and, by a declaration of rights, boldly asserted the independence of their native land, both scandalously betrayed to the monopoly and the pride of England, by their immediate successors, the Protestant Parliament of William. The patriots of the present day found their best claim to public regard on maintaining principles first advanced by an assembly, to whose merits no historian has yet ventured to do justice, but whose memory, when passion and prejudice are no more, will be perpetuated in the hearts of their grateful countrymen.

The proceedings of the General Committee fully justified the foresight, and far surpassed the hopes, of those who had devised the measure. On the first moment of their meeting, when they looked round and reviewed their numbers and their strength, they at once discarded the unworthy habits of deference and submission, which their unhappy situation had so long compelled them to assume. They felt and acted with the decision of men who deserved to be free, and with the dignity becoming the representatives of 3,000,000 of people. The spirit of liberty ran like the electric fire though every link of their chains, and before they were an hour convened, the question of their emancipation was, in fact, decided.

The first act of the assembly was, unanimously, to call to the chair Mr. Edward Byrne, a mark of distinction equally honorable to him and to themselves. In their cause he had exposed himself to every species of calumny and abuse; his name had been held up as a target, against which the arrows of prejudice, falsehood, and corruption, had been unceasingly discharged, and, after a persecution of many months, he had come forth unhurt. The General Committee, by thus placing him at their head, as their first President, at once discharged a debt of gratitude they had incurred, and marked their utter contempt for the impotent malice of those who had vilified and abused him, only for his eminent services in the public cause.

The attempts which had been made, and which have been already mentioned, to introduce members who, under the old constitution, had an indubitable right to attend, rendered it necessary for the General Committee to close the question. They, therefore, resolved, that the meeting, as then constituted, with the Peers and Prelates, were the only organ competent to speak the sense of the Catholic body, a measure which wisdom, and, indeed, necessity, impelled them to adopt. A faint attempt was made to oppose it, (vide *debates of 3d December, speeches of Lynch, M'Kenna,*) on the ground that the circular letter, under which the meeting was convened, had stated that the rights of no person, then a member of the committee, were intended to be abridged; and it was proposed, by a nice distinction, to say, that the meeting was "*competent,*" and not "*only competent,*" to speak the sense of the people at large. But it was answered to this by Captain Sweetman, of Wexford, that the sub-committee could not, by their act, tie up the hands of the great body of the Catholics, then present by their representatives, who were alone empowered to determine this question. And that admitting a confusion of personal and representative rights, was but to lay a foundation for future dissension, since it might so happen, that, on a division, all those of one description might secede, and thereby enable the enemies of the Catholics to take shelter behind a specious pretence, of which, as they had formerly seized it with avidity, they would be glad again to avail themselves. These arguments appeared conclusive; the opposition was withdrawn, and the motion passed unanimously. Thus, by a material

change in the constitution of the General Committee, all future claims, grounded on personal rights, were extinguished; the right of representation was established, and the strength of the whole Catholic people consolidated into one great and indivisible mass. The wisdom of the measure was justified by the event.

The General Committee next resolved, that a petition be prepared to his Majesty, stating the grievances of the Catholics of Ireland, and praying relief, and the members of the sub-committee were ordered to bring in the same forthwith, which, being done, and the petition read in the usual forms, it was again read, paragraph by paragraph, each passing unanimously, until the last. A spirited and intelligent member, (*Luke Teeling, Esq. of Lisburn, county Antrim,*) who represented a great northern county, then rose, and said, "That he must object to this paragraph, on the ground of its being limited in its demand. His instructions from his constituents were to require nothing short of total emancipation; and it was not consistent with the dignity of this meeting, and much less of the great body whom it represented, to sanction, by any thing which could be construed into acquiescence on their part, one fragment of that unjust and abominable system, the penal code. It lay with the paternal wisdom of the Sovereign to ascertain what he thought fit to be granted, but it was the duty of this meeting to put him fully and unequivocally in possession of the wants and wishes of his people." He therefore moved, "that, in place of the paragraph then read, one should be inserted, praying that the Catholics might be restored to the equal enjoyment of the blessings of the constitution."

It is not easy to describe the effect which that speech had on the assembly. It was received with the most extravagant applause. A member of great respectability, and who had ever been remarked for a cautious and prudent system in his public conduct, (*D. T. O'Brien, Esq. of Cork,*) rose to declare his entire and hearty concurrence in the spirit of the motion. "Let us not," said he, "deceive our Sovereign and our constituents, nor approach the throne with a suppression of the truth. Now is our time to speak. The whole Catholic people are not to be called forth to acquiesce in the demand of partial relief." The question would now have been carried by acclamation, but for

the interposition of a member, to whose opinion, from his past services and the active part he had ever taken, the committee were disposed to pay every respect, (*J. Keogh.*) He said, "that he entirely agreed with the spirit of the motion, and he was satisfied that they had but to ask and they should receive. But the meeting had already despatched a great deal of business, the hour was now late, and the question was of the very last importance." "Have you," said the speaker, "considered the magnitude of your demand and the power of your enemies? have you considered the disgrace and the consequences of a refusal, and are you prepared to support your claim?" The whole assembly rose, as one man, and, raising their right hands, answered, "WE ARE." It was a sublime spectacle. "Then," continued he, "I honor and rejoice in a spirit which must render your success infallible; but let it not be said that you took up a resolution of this infinite magnitude in a fit of enthusiasm. Let us agree to retire. We meet again to-morrow. We will consider this question in the mean time, and, whatever be the determination of the morning, it will not be accused of want of temperance or consideration." This argument prevailed, and the meeting adjourned.

But the business of the day was, perhaps, not less effectually promoted by the convivial parties which followed, than by the serious debates which occupied the sitting of the committee. Those members resident in Dublin, whom it had been the policy of the enemies to Catholic emancipation to grossly malign and misrepresent in the remote parts of the kingdom, had taken care to offer the rites of hospitality to the delegates from the country. And, in unreserved communication, both parties compared their common grievances, and mutually entered into each other's sentiments. All distrust was banished at once, and a comparison of ideas satisfied them that their interests were one and the same, and that the only enemy to be dreaded was disunion among themselves. The delegate from Antrim, who sat beside the delegate from Kerry, at the board of their brother in the capital, needed but little argument to convince him, that as the old maxim, "divide and conquer," had been the uniform rule of conduct with their common enemies, so, mutual confidence and union among themselves were the infallible presage and most certain means of securing their ap-

proaching emancipation. The attrition of parties, thus collected from every district of the kingdom, demolished in one evening the barriers of prejudice, which art and industry, and the monopolising spirit of corruption, had, by falsehood and soothing, by misrepresentation and menaces, been laboring for years, and but too successfully, to establish between them.

In this spirit the assembly met on the next day. The business was opened by the same member (*L. Teeling*) who had introduced the amendment. He stated that it was the duty of the Catholics not to wrong themselves by asking less than complete emancipation. That it was also the idea of their friends in the province from whence he came, and this coincidence of sentiments would establish that union, from which the Catholic cause had already derived such essential benefit, and which had been found so formidable to their enemies. Something had been insinuated about danger; he saw none: violence was not the interest nor the wish of the meeting. "But," continued he, "we have been asked, what we will do in case of a refusal? I will not, when I look round me, suppose a refusal. But, if such an event should take place, our duty is obvious. We are to tell our constituents; and they, not we, are to determine. We will take the sense of the whole people, and see what *they* will have done." Similar sentiments were avowed by every member who followed him; and, on the question being put, the amendment, praying for complete restitution of the rights of the Catholics, was carried by the unanimous acclamation of the whole assembly.

It was not to be supposed that perfect secrecy could be preserved in so numerous a meeting, or that the industry of the enemies to Catholic freedom should not be exerted in so important a crisis, and on so material a question as that which was now determined with such unanimity. On the morning of the day it was whispered, that, if the prayer for complete emancipation was persisted in, a large number of the most respectable country delegates would instantly quit the meeting, and publish their dissent. Whether such a measure was ever seriously intended or not, is not accurately known. Certainly, had it been carried into execution, a secession of so formidable a nature would have extremely embarrassed, if not totally destroyed, a system which had cost so much time and labor to bring to

its present state. Be that as it may, such was the force of virtuous example, so powerful the effect of public spirit in an assembly, uncontaminated with places or pensions, and freely chosen by the people, that not a murmur of dissent was heard; and a day which opened with circumstances of considerable doubt and anxiety, terminated in the unanimous adoption of the great principle which, whilst it asserted, secured the emancipation of the Catholics.

The prayer of the petition having been thus agreed upon, it was proposed (*by Mr. Fitzgerald*) that the signatures of the delegates should not be affixed, until the mode of transmission should be first determined. The object of this motion was, obviously, to embarrass, and, if possible, to prevent, a measure which, from the spirit of the meeting, it was more than suspected would be tried. Apprehensions were entertained that the usual form in presenting petitions would be broken through, and that, by a direct application to the throne, a very pointed mark of disapprobation would be attached on the government of this country. If, to prevent administration from being exposed to such an insult was the object of the motion, it failed completely. The committee decreed, that the signing the petition should precede all debate as to the mode of transmission. And, not only so, but it was unanimously resolved, (on the motion of *Mr. Edward Sweetman, of Wexford,*) that every delegate should instantly pledge himself to support, with his hand and signature, the sense of the majority; an engagement which was immediately and solemnly taken by the whole assembly.

The petition having been thus agreed upon, and signed, the important question arose as to the mode of presenting it to his Majesty. The usual method had been, to deliver all former addresses to the Lord Lieutenant, who transmitted them to the King; and, certainly, to break through a custom invariably continued from the first establishment of the General Committee, was marking, in the most decided manner, that the Catholics had lost all confidence in the administration of this country. But, strong as this measure was, it was now to be tried. The petition having been read for the last time, a spirited young member, (*Christopher Dillon Bellew, Esq. of Galway,*) whose property gave him much, and his talents and virtues still more, influence in the assembly, and who represented a

county, perhaps the first in Ireland for Catholic property and independence, rose, and moved, without preface, that the petition should be sent to the foot of the throne, by a deputation to be chosen from the General Committee. He was seconded by a delegate from a county adjacent to his own, (*J. J. Macdonnell, of Mayo.*)

A blow of this nature, striking so directly at the character, and, almost, at the existence of the administration, could scarcely be let to pass, without some effort on their part to prevent it. As the attack had been foreseen, some kind of a negotiation had been attempted with individuals, who were given to understand, that, if the petition was sent through the usual channel, administration would instantly despatch it by express, and back it with the strongest recommendations. The negotiation was not yet concluded when the dreaded motion was made, and, with some difficulty, the assembly agreed to wait *half an hour* for the result of one more interview. There can hardly be imagined a revolution more curious and unexpected than that which was occurring in the General Committee. The very men who, a few months before, could not obtain an answer at the Castle, sat with their watches in their hands, *minuting* that government which had repelled them with disdain. At length the result of the interview was made known, and it appeared that the parties had either mistaken each other, or their powers, or the intentions of the administration, for it was stated by the member (*Mr. Keogh*) who reported it, that what had been supposed to be offered was merely a conversation between a very respectable individual and himself, but he had *nothing to communicate from any authority.* This, which the majority of the assembly considered, whether justly or not, as an instance of duplicity in administration, and as trifling with their own time and dignity, determined them to stigmatize, as far as in them lay, a Government which they now looked upon as having added insult to injury. Will you, cried the orator, (*Keogh,*) trust your petition with such men? The assembly answered with an unanimous, repeated, and indignant negative—No!

Yet, still, a few individuals were found who started at the idea of fixing so gross an insult on administration, (*MM. M'Kenna, Fitzgerald, D. T. O'Brien.*) It was suggested,

rather than argued, that it was not perhaps respectful, even to majesty itself, to pass over with such marked contempt his representative in Ireland, and that the usual mode was the most constitutional, or, at least, the most conciliatory. But the spirit of the meeting was now above stooping to conciliate the favor of those whom they neither respected nor feared. The member who moved the question (*Mr. C. Bellew*) again rose to support it. He said he did not ground his motion merely on the insults which the Catholics, through their delegates, had so often received, but on this, that he had no confidence in men who kept no faith with Catholics, and the attempt of the present day had satisfied his mind. Faith had been broken, even with those gentlemen (*Lord Kenmare and the sixty-eight*) who, in support of administration, had seceded from their own body. The engagement entered into with them had been mutilated and curtailed. "It has been said," continued he, "my plan is disrespectful to administration. I answer, it is intended to be so. It is time for us to speak out like men. We will not, like African slaves, petition our task-masters. Our Sovereign will never consider it disrespectful, that we lay before his throne the dutiful and humble petition of 3,000,000 of loyal and suffering subjects. For my part, I know I speak the sentiments of my county. I wish my constituents may know my conduct; and the measure which I have now proposed, I am ready to justify in any way." These were strong expressions; they were followed by others no less energetic. "We have not come thus far," said a delegate from the west of Ireland, (*Mr. M'Dermott, of Sligo*) "to stop short in our career. Gentlemen tell us of the wounded pride of the administration. I believe it will be wounded, but I care not; I consider only the pride of the Catholics of Ireland." The last attempt was now made to postpone the further consideration of the question, until the next day, but this was immediately and powerfully resisted. "We will stay all night, if necessary, cried a spirited young member, (*P. Russell, of Louth,*) but this question must be decided before we part. If it go abroad that you waver, you are undone." "Let us mark," cried another, (*J. Edw. Devereux, Esq. of Wexford,*) "our abhorrence of the measures of our enemies, for they are the enemies of Ireland. The present administration *has not the confidence of the people.*" The whole assembly confirm-

ed his words by a general exclamation, NO ! NO ! "Our allegiance and attachment are to King, Lords, and Commons, not to a bad ministry, who have calumniated and reviled us through the Kingdom." His assertions were ratified by repeated and universal plaudits.

The question on the original motion was at length unanimously decided in the affirmative. By passing over the administration of their country, in a studied and deliberate manner, and on solemn debate, the General Committee published to all the world, that his Majesty's ministers in Ireland had so far lost the confidence of no less than 3,000,000 of his subjects, that they were not even to be entrusted with the delivery of their petition. A stigma more severe it has not been the fortune of many administrations to receive.

The General Committee (Dec. 7th) proceeded to choose, by ballot, five of their body, who should present their petition to his Majesty in person, and the gentlemen appointed were Edward Byrne, John Keogh, Christopher Dillon Bellew, James Edward Devereux, and Sir Thomas French. The only instruction they received was to adhere strictly to the spirit of the petition, and to admit nothing derogatory to the union, which is the strength of Ireland. And this instruction, for greater solemnity, was delivered to them, engrossed on vellum, signed by the Chairman, and countersigned by the Secretary, of the meeting.

The petition being thus disposed of, the next measure which occupied the attention of the General Committee, was to prepare a vindication of the Catholic body from the many foul imputations which had lately been thrown out against their principles and their conduct. For many months, patiently listening to the calumnies and falsehoods, which affected terror and real corruption had unremittingly vented, and attending only to the great measure, the universal election of their delegates, they had not suffered themselves to be entrapped in the snares of political controversy. They had, consequently, made no defence against the torrent of abuse which poured upon them from all quarters. They were not seduced, even by the glory of a contest with great names or high authorities, but proceeded in their march right onward, slowly and steadily, alike unmoved at the turbulent attacks of the numerous county meet-

ings, the well-feigned alarms of the selected grand juries, and dictated and loyal fears of the obedient corporations. But, now success had afforded them leisure, and the present opportunity was seized, to give one general replication to all the invectives thrown out against them. They, therefore, framed and published their vindication, which was intended as a commentary on their petition, a defence of their own conduct, and a refutation of the malicious and unfounded charges of their adversaries.

On the principle of this vindication, the assembly was unanimous; but, as to one or two particular passages, a doubt arose in the minds of certain of the delegates. Among the number of the enemies to their emancipation, were to be found personages of the most exalted political situation, some of whom had presided, and others assisted, at meetings, whence publications had issued of the most violent hostility to the Catholic cause. In replying to these publications, it was hardly possible to avoid statements and expressions, which must be directly offensive to the exalted characters concerned; for, as the attacks were not merely political, but, from their extreme acrimony, partook of somewhat of a personal feeling, so the nature of the defence, and, indeed, the nature of man, suggested, and, in a manner, enforced, a language which, in a controversy of a milder kind, could not have arisen. It was not to be wondered at, if men felt some degree of caution, at committing themselves in this species of warfare, with such grave and high authorities. The question, therefore, on those parts of the vindication, which remotely alluded to, or directly named, the most potent of their adversaries, (*the Lord Chancellor Fitzgibbon*) was very fully debated and maturely considered.

The conduct of the personages under deliberation could not be defended on any principle, in an assembly of Catholics. Those, therefore, who doubted on the propriety of thus repelling, force by force, (*Messrs. Fitzgerald, Daly, Lynch*, &c.) contented themselves with the common place topics of the necessary respect to high station, and the danger of speaking evil of dignities. But these were arguments to which the great majority of the assembly was now very little disposed to pay any respect. Feeling their own strength and unanimity, and galled by the remembrance of the wanton abuse which had

been so profusely lavished upon them, they determined not to let pass an opportunity which fortune and their own wise and spirited conduct had put into their hands, and to mark their adversaries in their turn. Almost every man was eager to express his contempt and abhorrence of those whom the assembly now considered as fallen tyrants, and the feeble attempt to rescue them from a public stigma, was drowned in a universal outcry of disapprobation. "What, said they, (*Capt. Edward Sweetman and J. E. Devereux, of Wexford,*) are we to spare one man (*Mr. Foster,*) who smells of the blood of our peasantry? or another who made it his public and profligate boast that he would prostrate the chapels of the Catholics? We know that man; (*Lord Fitzgibbon;*) the road to his favor is through his fears. Let us become formidable to him, and we shall be respected. He is the calumniator of the people, and therefore he has our hatred and our contempt. Loyalty itself becomes stupidity and vice, where there is no protection; and are we to tender a gratuitous submission to men who have held, and would hold us in fetters, and in mockery, and in scorn? What have we to fear, but our own disunion? Let us boldly acknowledge our friends, and mark our enemies. Let us respect ourselves, and the world will respect us; and, above all, let us not disgrace our cause, or the great body which we represent, by indecision, or temporising, or equivocation." The assembly then unanimously decreed, that the passages which had been objected to should remain unaltered.

The great and important business for which the General Committee had been summoned, was now, in effect, terminated, at least as far as their labors could advance it. What remained of their time was occupied in discharging the debt of gratitude to their friends, and forming an arrangement for their future assembling. They voted their unanimous thanks to the citizens of Belfast, "to whom," said a delegate, "we owe that we meet here in safety; they stand sentinels at our doors; they support you, Mr. President, in that chair," (*L. Teeling, Esq.*) A sentiment which was received with acclamation by the whole meeting. They voted their thanks to those illustrious members who had supported the cause of the Catholics in Parliament. They thanked those patriotic characters, who had devoted their time and talents to forwarding the emancipation of their breth-

ren. They thanked their officers; they thanked their sub-committee. They empowered that body to act for them in the intervals between their rising and their next meeting; but they made a material alteration in its constitution, by associating to the twelve members who then formed it, the whole of the country delegates, each of whom was henceforward to be, *ipso facto*, a member thereof. They then resolved, unanimously, that they would re-assemble when duly summoned by the sub-committee, who were invested with powers for that purpose. We will attend, cried a member from a remote county, if we are summoned to meet across the Atlantic, (*O'Gorman, of Mayo.*)

One occurrence deserves to be particularly noted. It had been the policy of the enemies of the Catholic cause, for a long time, to foment and continue divisions between the clergy and laity, and, in some instances, their acts had so far succeeded as, perhaps, nearly to produce a difference between the pastor and the flock. It has already been mentioned, that it was not without difficulty that some of the prelates had been induced to concur with the General Committee, in the plan for the electing of delegates, a circumstance not to be wondered at when we consider the peculiar delicacy and responsibility of their situation, and the uncommon diligence and art which were used to deter them from any interference. But, whatever might at first have been their doubts and diffidence, when they saw the great body of the laity come forward and unanimously demand their rights, they manfully cast away all reserve, and declared their determination to rise or fall with their flocks, a wise and patriotic resolution, which was signified to the General Committee by two venerable prelates, Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Moylan, Bishop of Cork, who assisted at the meeting, and signed the petition in the name, and on behalf, of the great body of the Catholic clergy of Ireland. They were received by the assembly with the utmost deference and respect, due not less to their sacred functions and private virtues, than to the great and useful accession of strength, which they brought to the common cause.

The members of the General Committee having returned to their counties, the delivery of their petition to the King became the immediate and urgent business of the gentlemen delegated to that honorable duty. It so happened that there was

no packet boat ready in the harbor, and the wind was contrary. They, therefore, determined to go by a route, longer, it is true, but less subject to accidental delays. To go by Scotland, it was necessary to pass through the north of Ireland, and, especially, through Belfast. On their arrival in that town they were met by a number of the most active and intelligent inhabitants, who had distinguished themselves in the abolition of prejudice, and the conciliation of the public mind in Ulster to the claims of the Catholics. On their departure, their horses were taken off, and they were drawn along with loud acclamations by the people, among whom were numbers of an appearance and rank very different from what are usually seen on such occasions. To the honor of the populace of Belfast, it should be mentioned, that they refused a liberal donation which was offered by the Catholic delegates; and, having escorted them beyond the precincts of the town, and cordially wished them success in their embassy, they dismissed them with three cheers.

Trifling as this circumstance may appear, it was the subject of much observation. By some it was considered as throwing additional difficulties on a measure already supposed to be sufficiently unpalatable to the British Minister, by avowing a connection with men notoriously obnoxious to him. By others, it was applauded, on the ground of strengthening that union of the great sects, the beneficial effects of which had already begun to operate in the elevation of the Catholic mind, an advantage which was thought to carry an intrinsic weight and power far beyond the uncertain favor of any minister. Whatever effect it might have on the negotiation in England, it certainly tended to raise and confirm the hopes of the Catholics at home. "Let our delegates," said they, "if they are refused, return by the same route." To those who looked beyond the surface it was an interesting spectacle, and pregnant with material consequences, to see the Dissenter of the north drawing, with his own hands, the Catholic of the south in triumph, through, what may be denominated the capital of Presbyterianism. However repugnant it might be to the wishes of the British Minister, it was a wholesome suggestion to his prudence, and when he scanned the whole business in his mind, was probably not dismissed from his contemplation.

On the arrival of the delegates in London, their first business was to apprize the Secretary for the Home Department, (*the Hon. H. Dundas*) that they were deputed to present to the King the humble petition of the Catholics of Ireland, and they requested to know at what time they should attend him with a copy for his Majesty's perusal. The minister having appointed a day, the delegates met him, and, in a long conversation, very fully detailed the situation and wishes of the Catholic body. It is not to be supposed that the minister, on his part, was equally communicative, but he heard them with particular attention, and dismissed them with respectful politeness. His object was to procure the petition to be delivered through his hands; that of the delegates to deliver it to the King himself, in person. Some dexterity was exhibited on both sides in negotiating this point, but the minister was, at length, obliged to concede, and the firmness of the delegates prevailed.

It is but justice to the merit of an illustrious character, to state here the obligation which the Catholics of Ireland owe to their countryman, the Earl of Moira, at that time Lord Rawdon. He had, immediately on the arrival of the delegates in London, waited on them, and offered them the hospitality of his mansion, and the command of his household; he entertained them repeatedly in a style of splendid magnificence; and, if the dignity of their mission could have received lustre from the support of an individual, they would have found it in the zeal and friendship of the Earl of Moira. But his services were not confined to acts of hospitality and politeness. He assisted in their councils, and, in a manner, committed his public character with their cause, for, on the emergency, when the minister was dallying with the earnestness of the delegates to procure admission to their Sovereign, and, probably, presumed that they would not readily find another channel of access, Lord Moira came forward and told them, that, if it became necessary, *he* would, as a Peer, demand an audience of his Majesty, and be himself their introducer; adding, at the same time, with the frankness and candor of his profession and character, that, flattering as such a distinction would be to himself, it was his wish that the minister should rather have the honor, inasmuch as he thought it would better serve their cause. As an Irishman and a military man, continued he, it might be esteemed to

wear, perhaps, too peremptory an appearance, were I to introduce you, and when the minister finds that you are, in all events, secure of admission, he will, probably, be less reluctant to have the credit of it himself. If, however, he should persist in his refusal, you may then command me. The event justified his prediction; the minister relaxed; and Wednesday, the 2d of January, was fixed as the day of their introduction. On that day the delegates were introduced at St. James's in the usual forms, by Mr. Dundas, and, agreeably to their instructions, delivered into the King's own hands the petition of his Catholic subjects of Ireland. Their appearance was splendid, and they met with, what is called in the language of courts, a most gracious reception; that is, his Majesty was pleased to say a few words to each of the delegates in his turn. In those colloquies, the matter is generally of little interest, the manner is all; and with the manner of the Sovereign, the delegates had every reason to be content.

Thus had the Catholics, at length, through innumerable difficulties, fought their way to the foot of the throne; the King had, in the most solemn manner, received their petition, and his ministers were in full possession of their situation, their wants, and their wishes. Their delegates had now executed their mission, and began to prepare for their return. After allowing a decent interval of a few days, they attended on the minister, for the last time, to learn, if they could, his determination, and to take what may be called their audience of leave. In this conversation, as in every former one, the claims of the Catholics were powerfully enforced and impressed on the mind of the minister in language stronger than is often used to men in his high station, and which would most probably have shocked the delicacy of a gentleman usher. He was given to understand, in terms that were scarcely equivocal, that the peace of Ireland, or, in other words, the submission of the Catholics, depended on the measures which government might adopt on their behalf. Yet, the cool and guarded temper of the minister was not to be disturbed, and, though he heard them with attention, and, apparently, at times, with emotion, he was not to be driven from the diplomatic caution, behind which he had carefully intrenched himself. After much of that general language, which is vernacular in official stations, the delegates were told, that

his Majesty was sensible of their loyalty and attachment to the principles of the constitution; that, in consequence, they should be recommended in the speech from the throne at the opening of the impending session, and that ministers in England desired approbation and support from them, only in proportion to the measure of relief afforded. If the elasticity of this answer, which would dilate or compress to any magnitude, did not appear entirely satisfactory to the plain and uncourtly understandings of the delegates, they were told, and, probably, with some truth, that the minister had gone farther than custom in similar circumstances would warrant; and that, preserving the decorum due to the independent government and legislature in Ireland, more could not, with propriety, be said on the one hand, or required on the other. With this answer they were forced to be content, and they satisfied themselves in the reflection that nothing on their part had been left undone to procure one more definite.

It now became necessary to consider of the report which should be made to their constituents in Ireland. The expressions of the minister, according to all received rules of construction, were to be taken most strongly against himself; the King was sensible of their loyalty; they were to be liberally recommended, and their gratitude was to be commensurable with their relief. Combining these expressions with the general behavior of the minister, and the effect produced on their minds in the various conferences, and making allowance for the delicacy of his station, which did not permit him to be more explicit, they resolved that the answer of the minister was satisfactory, and satisfaction to Catholic minds, then inferred the idea of *complete relief*, a construction which they founded, not on this or on that expression, but adopted as a general impression, resulting from the whole tenor of Mr. Dundas' conduct, from the commencement to the termination of their negotiation.

In pursuance of this principle, as the session had already opened, two of their body were instantly despatched, to state to the sub-committee all that had been done, and what the deputation did conceive to be the sentiments of ministry in England. The other members followed more leisurely, and, in the course of a few days, the deputation was collected, save one gentle-

man, Mr. Devereux, of Wexford, who remained in London as a kind of *Chargé d'Affaires*.

The opening of the session of 1793 was, perhaps, as critical a period as had occurred for a century in Ireland. In consequence of the regulation above mentioned, every country gentleman delegated for either county or city, was now a member of the sub-committee, and the anxiety which they felt for the event of a question, in which their dearest interests and warmest hopes were so deeply involved, had detained a number of the most active, spirited, and intelligent of the Catholic gentry in town during the whole period of the absence of their deputation. On their return, the sub-committee was, in consequence, very diligently attended, and the process of the measures intended for the relief of the Catholics, was very fully investigated, and, on several material points, debated in crowded meetings, and with considerable heat.

At the adjournment of the General Committee, in December, and for some time after, administration in Ireland was in a state of deplorable depression and dismay. Already stunned with the rude shock received from the Catholics, the minister, at the opening of the session, was a perfect model of conciliatory concession. To the astonishment of the nation, the principle of parliamentary reform was asserted unanimously by the House of Commons, and admitted without a struggle, almost without a sigh, by administration. The people seemed to have but to demand and to obtain their long withheld rights, and sanguine men began to indulge the hope that the constitution of their country would, at length, be restored to its theoretical simplicity and justice, and all its impurities be purged away. But this vision, so bright in the perspective, was soon dispelled, and the nation, in the course of a few short weeks, awakened from its fancied triumph over inveterate corruption, to a very solid and substantial system of coercion. To follow, in detail, many of the measures which materially contributed to this sudden and unexpected, change would now be, at best, useless, perhaps prejudicial; yet, truth requires that some of them should be developed; the investigation of past errors, if it cannot recall lost opportunity, may, at least, prevent their repetition in similar circumstances, should such ever recur again.

The solid strength of the people was their union. In December, the Catholics had thundered out their demands, the imperious, because unanimous, requisition of 3,000,000 of men; they were supported by all the spirit and intelligence of the Dissenters. Dumourier was in Brabant, Holland was prostrate before him; even London, to the impetuous ardor of the French, did not appear at an immeasurable distance; the stocks were trembling; war seemed inevitable; the minister was embarrassed; and, under those circumstances, it was idle to think that he would risque the domestic peace of Ireland to maintain a system of monopoly, utterly useless to his views. The Catholics well knew this; they well knew their own strength and the weakness of their enemies; and therefore it was that the sub-committee derided the empty bluster of the Grand Juries, and did not fear, in the moment that they stigmatized the administration, to approach their Sovereign with a demand of unlimited emancipation. Happy had the same decided spirit continued to actuate their councils. But it would be fruitless to deny what it is impossible to conceal. From whatever cause the system was changed, the simple universality of demand was subjected to discussion, and, from the moment of the first interview with the minister of Ireland, the popular mind became retrograde, the confidence of administration and their strength returned, and the same session which afforded a mutilated, though important relief to the Catholics, carries on its records a militia bill, a gunpowder act, and an act for the suppression of tumultuous assemblies. These bills are now the law of the land. In times like the present, it is not safe to descant on their merits; they will be appreciated by the fair and impartial judgment of posterity. But, though a critical investigation of their excellencies, however curious or interesting, be, for the present, denied to him who feels himself indignantly bound by their extensive operation, it is not yet, perhaps, criminal to relate, historically, in a work like the present, the progress of measures so closely connected with the Catholic question, or to conjecture at the probable views of those who planned, those who supported, and those who connived at those famous statutes.

The General Committee had framed their demand for total emancipation; their instructions to the deputation had been to adhere to the spirit of the petition. These instructions had

been faithfully observed, perhaps exceeded, in every interview with the British minister. Even in the unimportant circumstance of the day of their introduction, they had refused to consult his convenience or his caprice, and they parted from him with a reiteration of the principle which, in every conversation, they had maintained, that nothing short of total emancipation would be esteemed satisfactory by the Catholics of Ireland. But, when they had returned, having executed the object of their mission, certain it is, that this unaccommodating spirit relaxed, and something of a more conciliatory nature, and a system of less extensive demand, appeared to pervade the councils of the Catholics. In the first interview with the Irish minister, the two houses of Parliament were at once given up, and the question began to be, not how much must be conceded, but how much might be withheld. So striking a change did not escape the vigilance of administration; they instantly recovered from the panic which had led them into such indiscreet, and, as it now appeared, unnecessary, concessions at the opening of Parliament; they dexterously seduced the Catholics into the strong ground of negotiation, so well known to themselves, so little to their adversaries; they procrastinated, and they distinguished, they started doubts, they pleaded difficulties; the measure of relief was gradually curtailed, and, during the tedious and anxious progress of discussion, whilst the Catholic mind, their hopes and fears, were unremittingly intent on the process of their bill, which was obviously and designedly suspended, the acts already commemorated were driven through both houses with the utmost impetuosity, and, with the most cordial and unanimous concurrence of all parties, received the royal assent.

This negotiation, however, did not proceed without serious opposition amongst the Catholics themselves. Many warm debates occurred in the sub-committee, and several of the members strenuously resisted the idea of compromising the general demand. It is not necessary, nor could it now be useful to detail these various combats, in which the same ground was fought over again and again, with equal obstinacy and the same success. It may suffice to give the substance of one debate, as a specimen.

During the progress of the bill, the minister having sent for the gentlemen appointed to communicate with him, informed them that he could not pretend to answer for the success of the bill, unless he was enabled, from authority, to reply to a question proposed to him by a noble Lord in debate, "Whether the Catholics would be satisfied with the measure of relief intended?" By "satisfied," he meant that the public mind should not be irritated in the manner it had been for some time back; he did not mean to say, that future applications might not be made; but, if they, the Catholics, would not, for the present, be satisfied, it were better to make a stand here than to concede, and thereby to give them strength, by which they might be able farther to embarrass administration—perhaps next session. This was pretty strong language from the minister, (Secretary Hobart,) and very unlike what he had held at the opening of the session, but the aspect of the political hemisphere had been materially altered in that short space. The very night before this interview, the House of Commons had voted an army of 20,000, and a militia of 16,000 men, a measure in which the opposition party had outrun the hopes, and, almost, the wishes of administration. Every measure for strengthening the hands of government was adopted by one party with even more eagerness than it was proposed by the other; the nation was submitted implicitly to the good pleasure of the minister, and the leader of opposition was contented, in *terms*, to implore the gratuitous clemency of the man to whom he could have dictated the law; a mode of proceeding that seems to have been more sentimental than wise, as the subsequent measures of the administration abundantly verified. Government was invested with dictatorial powers; to what purpose they were exerted, posterity may safely, and will, impartially, determine. But, to return.

The deputation having reported the speech of the Secretary, a very warm debate ensued in the sub-committee, which, it may be necessary to repeat, then comprised a great portion of the spirit and ability of the General Committee. The question was, "Whether they would accede to the wish of the minister, and, by admitting their satisfaction at the present bill, sanction a measure short of complete emancipation?"

Those who argued in the affirmative, stated, that the people out of doors would disown them if they were, after bringing the question thus far prosperously, now to refuse purchasing a bill conveying such solid benefits at so cheap a price. That the minister did not say the Catholics were to acquiesce for ever under the measures intended, but only that the public mind should not be irritated; that every accession of strength enabled them the better to secure the remainder; that, what was now offered might be accepted, and, under the terms of the stipulation, application might, in two or three years, be made for what was withheld; that no man could deny that the present bill afforded substantial relief; that the members who might suffer by what was refused, were very few, in comparison with those who would be satisfied with what was granted; that, taking the bench as an example, few Catholic lawyers could be, even in point of standing, fit for that station in many years, long before which time, it was presumed, all distinctions would be done away; that, as to seats in Parliament, if all distinctions between the sects were at that moment abolished, no Catholic gentleman was prepared, by freeholders or otherwise, for an immediate contest; so that, in case of a general election, immediately, the Protestant gentry must come in without opposition; that a few years would alter this, and enable the Catholics to make their arrangements so as to engage in the contest on equal terms; that, what was given by the bill, and particularly the right of elective franchise, was an infallible means of obtaining all that remained behind; it was again and again pressed, and relied on, that the people would not be with them who would reject it; and, finally, it was asked, under those circumstances, were they prepared for the consequences of a refusal, that is, "Were they ready to take the tented field?"

To these arguments, which were certainly of great cogency, it was replied, "That what had been once determined by the general will of the Catholics of Ireland, assembled, could not be reversed by persons merely appointed to carry that will into execution; that the sub-committee had not even the power of discussing the minister's proposition; that, if the Catholics were still to be kept from an equal share of the benefits of the constitution, it was not for them to sanction the exclusion by concurring themselves in the principle; that it would ill be-

come them now, when they had obtained the royal approbation of their claims, when they had the support of the entire north, and so many respectable meetings of their Protestant brethren, joined to their own united and compact strength, to ask less than they had unanimously done in December last, when so many fortunate circumstances had not yet concurred in their favor; that the proposal under debate had originated with men who had ever been enemies to the Catholics, and was now brought forward, evidently, with a view to distract and divide them; that the people would support the sub-committee, which might be inferred from the universal approbation which the resolution of the General Committee to go for complete emancipation had given to all ranks and descriptions of Catholics; that they were unable to cope with their enemies in the intricate arts of negotiation; but that, if the minister persisted in desiring that expression of satisfaction which the sub-committee neither could nor ought to give, he should be told that the General Committee would be summoned, the mention of which would probably deter him from pressing it further; that, as to 'taking the tented field,' such language was not to be held out to an unarmed people, pursuing their just rights, and using, and desiring to use, no other weapons than a sulky, unaccommodating, complaining, constitutional loyalty." Finally, it was again pressed and insisted on, that the General Committee having already decided in favor of the whole measure, no body nor individuals among the Catholics had power to sanction any measure short of absolute and complete relief.

The result of these arguments, which brought conviction to neither side, was a compromise. The deputation again saw the minister, and, with a nice distinction, they refused, in the name of the body, to express the wished-for satisfaction; they refused to express it officially as members of the sub-committee, but, as individuals of the Catholic body, they admitted that the bill did contain *substantial relief*, and even this admission was guarded with a stipulation that it should not be quoted in debate. But the minister had ascertained all that he wished to know, by the proposal; he saw that the Catholics would acquiesce in a measure short of complete relief, and he inferred that they would not risque the safety of their bill by opposition to any measures, however repugnant to their own feelings or

subversive of the general interest, and the whole process of the session justified his sagacity. The expression of satisfaction was, therefore, no longer required, and the bill proceeded in the usual forms.

But, while it was in progress through the House of Commons, a very serious blow was struck at the hopes of the Catholics and the honor of the sub-committee in the House of Lords. A noble peer, (*Lord Fitzgibbon,*) high in legal station, and to whom not envy herself can deny the praise of consistency on the subject of Catholic emancipation, had, early in the session, declared his opposition in terms of the bitterest invective. Very shortly after, advantage was taken of the riotous and tumultuous outrages committed by the rabble in certain counties, and a committee of secrecy was appointed by the Lords, to inquire into the causes of the disorders and disturbances which prevailed in several parts of the kingdom. In due time this committee published a report, whose object was two-fold; to attach a suspicion on the most active members of the sub-committee of having fomented those disturbances, and to convey a charge little short of high treason on certain corps of volunteers, particularly in Belfast, preparatory to disarming or otherwise suppressing that formidable body. In the first of these schemes, the authors of the measure completely failed; in the last, they were but too successful.

On the merits of that report, I am, with deep reluctance, compelled to refrain. The examples which I have seen of victims to the unforgiving revenge of offended privilege, force me to bury in silence the ardent spirit of resentment which I feel. What single man will again be found to encounter the strong hand of power for a country that would suffer him to rot in a dungeon? When I reflect on that publication a thousand ideas crowd at once into my mind, and struggle for a vent. Perhaps a time may come ———

The sub-committee could not overlook an attack of so very serious a nature, containing charges which, if established, would subject them to penalties of the severest kind. Their Secretary, (*Richard M'Cormick, Esq.*) a man universally respected in public and in private life, was more peculiarly marked out, and though it might be thought that such charges, if at all founded, should be instantly followed by criminal prose-

cution, and that, where no such prosecution did ensue, it was probable that no foundation existed for the imputation; yet, the sub-committee, knowing, in the pending state of the Catholic bill, how severely a stigma like that conveyed in the report might affect their dearest hopes; and conjecturing that such was the object of the framers of that paper, determined to give it an immediate answer, disclaiming, in the most solemn manner, every article of the charges alleged against them, and tendering themselves, their publications, and their accounts, to the most severe and public scrutiny that the malice of their enemies could devise. Their Secretary likewise published a separate defence, in which he very fully explained those circumstances, which, were they not contained in a report of a committee of the House of Lords, might be said to be grossly and wilfully misstated. Yet, the defence of the sub-committee, and the vindication of the Secretary, were languid, compared with former publications. The body and the individual were confined to a defensive war, and obliged to parry, without returning the blow; a situation more severe to an honorable mind cannot well be imagined. The felon in the dock has his irons knocked off, that his mind may be free for his defence. The sub-committee were arraigned at the bar of their country with their hands manacled, their feet shackled, and the halter of undefined privileges dangling on their necks.

Fortunately, however, the measure of Catholic relief had now taken such deep root that it was not to be subverted even by this storm. The bill, after a long and tedious discussion of several weeks, at length passed the House of Commons, and was transmitted to the Lords. Through that house it also passed, without alteration, receiving, however, in its transit, one more severe philippic from the exalted character who had, with undeviating consistency, condemned the measures intended for Catholic relief in this and the preceding session; and, finally, on the 9th day of April, 1793, it received, with the usual solemnities, the royal assent.

It would, in a work like the present, be impossible to do justice to the talents displayed in support of the Catholic claims by all their advocates in Parliament. It would be invidious, perhaps, to make a selection, yet the self-love of none amongst them will be wounded by the acknowledgment of the

superior talents manifested by Mr. Grattan. He was the early, the steady, and the indefatigable friend of Catholic emancipation. The splendor of his talents reflected a light upon their cause in the darkest moments of its depression. To that great object he bent the undivided powers of his mind, and did not scruple to hazard his popularity by a manly declaration in their favor, at a time when the tide of popular clamor ran most strongly against them, and when his own constituents were foremost in the cry. He saw that clamor subside at his feet; the voice of truth and reason prevailed over the storm, and the same man had the rare and unexampled good fortune to be foremost in restoring a people to the constitution, as he had been in restoring a constitution to the people.

A copy of the bill is subjoined. By one comprehensive clause all penalties, forfeitures, disabilities, and incapacities, are removed; the property of the Catholic is completely discharged from the restraints and limitations of the penal laws, and their liberty, in a great measure, restored, by the restoration of the right of elective franchise, so long withheld, so ardently pursued. The right of self defence is established by the restoration of the privilege to carry arms, subject to a restraint, which does not seem unreasonable, as excluding none but the very lowest orders. The unjust and unreasonable distinctions affecting Catholics, as to service on grand and petty juries, are done away; the army, navy, and all offices and places of trust are opened to them, subject to exceptions hereafter mentioned. Catholics may be masters or fellows of any college hereafter to be founded, subject to two conditions, that such college be a member of the University, and that it be not founded exclusively for the education of Catholics. They may be members of any lay body corporate, except Trinity college, any law, statute, or by-law, of such corporation to the contrary, notwithstanding. They may obtain degrees in the University of Dublin. These, and some lesser immunities and privileges, constitute the grant of the bill, the value of which will be best ascertained by referring to the petition. From comparison, it will appear, that every complaint *recited* has been attended to; every grievance *specified* has been removed. Yet, the prayer of the petition was for *general* relief. The bill is not coextensive with the prayer. The measure of redress must,

however, be estimated by the extent of the previous suffering and degradation of the Catholics set forth by themselves, and, in this point of view, the bill will undoubtedly justify those who admitted that it afforded *solid and substantial relief.*

But, though many and most important privileges were now secured to the Catholics, it will appear that much has been withheld, and withheld in the manner most offensive to their feelings, because the bill admitting the lower orders of the Catholic people to all the advantages of the constitution which they are competent to enjoy, excludes the whole body of their gentry from those functions, which they are naturally entitled to fill. A strange inconsistency ! During the whole progress of the Catholic question, a favorite and plausible topic with their enemies, was the ignorance and bigotry of the multitude, which rendered them incompetent to exercise the functions of freemen. That ignorance and bigotry are now admitted into the bosom of the constitution, whilst all the learning and liberality, the rank and the fortune, the pride and pre-eminence, of the Catholics, are degraded from their station, and stigmatized by act of Parliament.

"A Catholic may not be"—(See act of 9th April, 1793, from page 23, line 4, to page 26, line 1.)

Of this bead roll of disqualifications, many are unnecessary, doing that by act of Parliament, which his Majesty is already competent to do by his royal discretion. The exclusion is the more invidious, from the utter improbability of any Irish Catholic being called to fill the stations of Lord Lieutenant, Lord Deputy, Lord High Chancellor, which are formally excepted in the bill, merely, as it should seem, to affix on them a mark of distrust and inferiority. But these are exceptions, offensive only to the pride; there are others directly trenching on their interests.

By their exclusion from the two houses of Parliament, the whole body of the Catholic gentry of Ireland, a high spirited race of men, are insulted and disgraced, thrown down from the level of their fortune and their talents, and branded with a mark of subjugation, the last relic of interested bigotry. This is the radical defect of the bill. If the Catholics deserved what has been granted, they deserved what has been withheld; if they did not deserve what has been withheld, what has been

granted should have been refused. There is an inconsistency not to be explained on any principle of reason or justice, in admitting the alleged ignorance and bigotry and numbers of the Catholics into the pale of the constitution, and excluding all the birth, rank, property and talents. By granting the franchise, and withholding seats in Parliament, the Catholic gentry are at once compelled and enabled to act with effect as a distinct body, and a separate interest. They receive a benefit with one hand, and a blow with the other, and their rising gratitude is checked by their just resentment; a resentment which in the same moment they obtain the means and the provocation to justify. If it was not intended to emancipate *them* also, they should have been debarred of all share of political power. Will they not say that they have received just so much liberty as will enable them to serve the interests of others? to be useful freeholders and convenient voters, artificers of the greatness and power in which they must not share, subaltern instruments in the elevation of those who their honest pride tells them are in no respect better than themselves? A mortifying state of degradation to men of ardent spirit and generous feelings! As the law now stands, a Catholic gentleman of the first rank and fortune is, in a political point of view, inferior to the meanest of his tenants; combining their situation and their feelings, *they* are fully emancipated, *he* drags along an unseemly and galling link of his ancient chain.

An attempt was made to do justice to the Catholics, to preserve the consistency of Parliament, and to carry into execution his Majesty's paternal wish for the complete union of all his subjects in support of the established constitution. On the day of the committal of the bill in the House of Commons, the Hon. George Knox, member for Dungannon, moved that the committee be empowered to receive a clause to make it lawful for Catholics to sit and vote in Parliament. The justice and magnanimity of the principle were supported by the spirit and ability of the mover, who, in a strain of eloquence, unanswered. because unanswerable, enforced the wisdom of the measure and the claims of the Catholics by arguments, drawn, not merely from local or temporary topics, but from the principles of good government, and the feelings and nature of man. What, said he, is the object of this bill? To admit the Catholics to

some degree of civil liberty. On what principle then, with what object have you singled out that portion, which you are about to concede? (Vide Hibernian Journal, March 18th, 1793, 2d col. 2d paragraph.) It will not much impeach the abilities of the opposers of the motion to say, that to these arguments they were unable to reply. It does not, however, always happen that the weight of argument concurs with the weight of members. Notwithstanding the powerful exertions of the friends to Catholic emancipation, and the talents they are known to possess, and which were never displayed in greater lustre, the motion was lost by a very large majority, seventy-one members voting in the affirmative, and no less than one hundred and sixty-five in the negative. Yet, even this defeat, compared with the last session of Parliament, was a victory. But —— men could then be found to vote for receiving a petition which, in effect, asked for nothing; now seventy-one members, constituting a great portion of the character, the property, and, above all, the talents of the house, voted for the complete admission of the Catholics to the privileges of the constitution.

The denial of the right to sit and vote in Parliament is now, undoubtedly, the chief grievance of the Catholics of Ireland. Another function, from which they are excluded, is of material import. They may not be high sheriffs nor sub-sheriffs; an exception which diminishes extremely the value of the concessions whereby they are admitted to serve on grand juries.—When it is considered that the office is never conferred but on gentlemen of property and figure, it is not easy to see any good reason for the exclusion of a man, in all other respects unexceptionable, merely because he is a Catholic. Every argument which can be used for their admission to Parliament, applies with much greater force to their filling the office of sheriff; and the danger, if danger can be apprehended, ought surely to vanish in the reflection, that the appointment to that office appertains to the crown, whose discretion and whose advisers may, in this prerogative, be safely trusted. Excluding Catholics by law, therefore, is, at best, an unnecessary precaution, and every such precaution, as springing from a principle of distrust and suspicion, is for so much an insult, and an insult solely on the men of family, property, and education.

From another function, and of considerable importance, Catholics are yet excluded in fact, though not in express terms. By the bill, "they may be members of any lay body corporate, any rule or by-law to the contrary, notwithstanding." But this is, in effect, a nugatory license. There are but three ways of obtaining freedom of corporations, by birth, by service, or by special grace. From the first, Catholics are excluded, for their fathers, for generations back, have been slaves. From the second, they are excluded, because it has been hitherto a part of the oath of a freeman, that he would take as an apprentice no bondman's son, a clause which effectually shuts out the Catholics. The third door may be opened by the liberality of Protestant corporators; but, in this instance, our laws have outrun our manners. In the metropolis, the vigilant bigotry of the corporation of the city has been successfully exerted to effect, and, as far as in them lay, to perpetuate the exclusion of Catholics, and this unworthy spirit has been manifested in the refusal of their freedom to some who have passed through the ordeal of their respective guilds, among whom are men of character and respectability, equal to any, not merely in the corporation, but in the community. The unbounded influence which administration is known to possess in that body, renders this conduct, in this instance, the more paradoxical, and it certainly wears a great appearance of insincerity, to grant the Catholics a valuable privilege, and, in the very same moment, to render them incapable to avail themselves of its benefits.

It is not my wish to aggravate discontent, by dwelling on those parts of the bill which have disappointed the Catholic hope. Some of them are above, and some of them below, the general contemplation. Those parts which I have selected are, in form, offensive to the feelings, and, in substance, subversive of the interests of the Catholic body. But, the radical and fundamental defect of the bill is, that it still tends to perpetuate distinctions, and, by consequence, disunion amongst the people. While a single fibre of the old penal code, that cancer in the bosom of the country, is permitted to exist, the mischief is but suspended, not removed, the principle of contamination remains behind and propagates itself. Palliatives may, for a while, keep the disease at bay, but a sound and firm constitution can only be restored by its total extirpation.

Sequel of the Continuation of the Life of T. W. Tone, *by the Editor.*

On reviewing the transactions detailed in this important fragment, the causes of the sudden and unfortunate change which shortly followed, will remain no longer a mystery. During the whole course of the year 1792, the progress of the Catholic interest had been rapid and decisive; at its close, the government of Ireland seemed paralysed, and the General Committee, supported by the whole power of the Dissenters, and by all the liberal Protestants in the country, and the Whig party in Parliament, conquered the monarch's approbation of their claims and the assent of the British ministry. The weakness of some of their own leaders, and the skill, promptitude, and decision, of their adversaries, soon altered this favorable prospect.

In a better cause, the able and energetical measures of the Irish Government and Protestant ascendency party, would deserve the highest admiration. Threatened in the vital principle of their unjust monopoly of power, unsupported by the British ministry, they were stunned for a moment at the unexpected vigor of a party which they had too long despised. But, recovering shortly from the panic, they felt the pulse of those leaders, who seemed astonished at their own success. It is remarkable, and belongs, perhaps, to an innate principle in human nature, that the Catholic leaders displayed much more spirit in pleading their cause amongst strangers, and before the monarch himself, than when they had to settle the terms of that relief, already granted, with those subordinate ministers of his, before whose insolence and oppression they had bent so long in submission. They then seemed to recognize that frown to which they had been accustomed, and the Irish administration, perceiving its advantages, instantly assumed a higher tone. Offering the repeal of such of the penal statutes, as were too odious, and had fallen in disuse, and granting the elective franchise, which, in the organization of society and property in Ireland, could confer no effectual power on the Catholics, they retained the monopoly of all the real elements of that power, and, artfully delaying the passage of the bill, thus mutilated, made them understand that it should depend on their passive and quiet demeanor. In the mean time, having secured, for the moment, the silence of the

expecting Catholics, they bent all their efforts against the reformers and the republicans of the north, who had so powerfully assisted them. They profited of the alarm excited by the horrors of the French revolution; they roused the fears of all men of property and timidity; they secured, by sacrificing the interests of their country, the co-operation of the mercantile and manufacturing classes in England, and overawed and intimidated even the British ministry. The very cloak of patriotism served their designs; they exclaimed against the interference of that ministry as an encroachment on the national independence of the Imperial crown of Ireland, and were readily supported by those who possessed the monopoly of that independence. At home, they possessed all the powers of the government, the army, and treasury, the judiciary, magistracy, clergy, landed property, and corporations; they rallied all their efforts, and, on pretence of some trifling troubles in the north, between the Defenders and Peep-of-day boys, called out all the forces of the nation, augmented the army, raised the militia and yeomanry, and disarmed the people. The gentry, magistracy, and clergy of the established church, every where seconded these efforts. Unscrupulous as to their means, bloody, unsparing, and uncompromising with their enemies, they established, at the same time, and under the same pretext, with the consent of the whig as well as the tory interest, that secret committee, whose operations soon equalled, in cruelty and illegal violence, those of the Star-chamber, in England, the Inquisition in Spain, the bloody tribunals of the Duke of Alva, and the *Comite de Salut public*, in France. In short, under pretence of resisting a revolutionary spirit in Ireland, they assumed themselves a revolutionary vigor beyond the law. When secure of all those means, they passed, at length, that mutilated bill, cramped by so many restrictions, and granted with such manifold reluctance, that it was received by the mass of the Catholic body with as little gratitude as it deserved.

Those measures of the Irish administration, though able and vigorous, and calculated to rescue them from their impending danger, were, however, founded on narrow and short-sighted views. They succeeded; but it was evident that they would finally render that Government so odious and unpopular that it would be unable to stand. The British ministry acted on prin-

ciples of more long-sighted policy. Their sagacity cannot be doubted. Aiming already, in all probability, at the future incorporation of that country, the more unpopular its government rendered itself, the better was it for their ends in the long run. In fact, the most violent declamations of the United Irishmen, which led them by thousands to the dungeon, the transport hulk, the picket, and the halter, never pictured its crimes in more glowing colors than they were afterwards displayed by Lord Castlereagh himself, long the remorseless agent of its cruelties, and then the venal instrument of its dissolution, in his speeches on the union. The British ministry foresaw that both parties, exhausted by the approaching and inevitable struggle, and weakened by their mutual hatred and disunion, would be obliged to yield up the independence of their country, as the price of peace and protection. If so, their calculation, however cruel and selfish, was justified by the event.

In Ireland the confusion and disorder, which these determined operations threw in the councils of all the well wishers to reform, union, and independence, was, for a while, very great. The indignant Dissenters exclaimed that they were deserted and betrayed by those whom they had assisted; the great body of the Catholics were equally dissatisfied with such an imperfect termination to their high-raised hopes, and with the want of spirit in their leaders. It must be observed, however, that, in the beginning of these affairs, there was a radical difference between those two parties. The Dissenters, from the early character of their sect, were mostly republicans from principle. The great mass of the Catholics only became so through oppression and persecution. Had they not been goaded by tyranny in every hour and in every act of their lives, had they been freely admitted to an equal share in the benefits of the constitution, they would have become, by the very spirit of their religion, the most peaceable, obedient, orderly, and well-affectioned subjects of the empire. Their proud and old gentry and their clergy, inclined even rather to feudal and chivalrous, and somewhat to tory principles, than to those of democracy. But common sufferings now united them in a common hatred of the Government, and desire for its subversion.

The next session of the General Committee, which opened a few days after this act of partial relief, was stormy in the

extreme. The cause of freedom and of union was advocated in some of the most brilliant speeches recorded in the annals of Irish eloquence; the attacks of the patriotic members on the Government, and on their own leaders, were formidable and vigorous. The defence of these leaders was, however, plausible. Charged with a very difficult negotiation, they had, in fact, obtained, as they asserted, a very real and substantial, although a partial, relief. But, the crisis for freeing their country was passed; the favorable opportunity was lost, perhaps never to return. The government felt its strength, and began, from that moment, to act on the infernal system of goading the people to desperation and open insurrection, in order to color and justify the violence of their measures. The assembly parted, at length, with the usual vote of thanks to their real and pretended friends, but without coming to any important decision on the great object of their meeting.

This change of circumstances was most disheartening to those eager and disinterested spirits who had devoted themselves to the cause of the Catholics; because, in the first place, it was just, and that in the second, their enfranchisement was a necessary preliminary to the emancipation of Ireland, to the reform of her government, and to the establishment of a free and equal system of national representation. The bitter feelings which filled my father's breast at this first failure of hopes which had been so nearly gratified, and the further views which he then began to meditate, can be traced more freely in his journals of January and February, 1793, (see Appendix,) where he gave way to them without control, than in the preceding abstract, which was evidently written with caution, and destined for publication. They may also be found in his notes on the debates of the General Committee in April, (see Appendix,) but chiefly, perhaps, in the following loose fragment of his thoughts, which I have found amongst his papers, dated March 27th, 1793.

"Sudden change of deputation, on our return from England—"Last conversation previous to leaving London—Bellew's visit, "and mine, to the castle—All set aside by the first visit of the "whole deputation—Negotiation, giving up both houses of par-"liament—People then unanimous and spirited, but soon dis-"heartened by this unaccountable conduct of their former leaders "—Great advantages of the castle over us in negotiation—My

" own opposition to compromise—Compelled to give it up at last.
" Consequence of this dereliction; a loss of all public spirit—Low
" state of Government at the opening of the session, as appeared
" from their admitting the principle of reform—Their recovery,
" from the indecision of Catholics—Consequent carrying, under
" cover of the Catholic bill, the gunpowder and militia acts, aug-
" mentation of army, proclamations, &c.—Motives of Catholic
" leaders; not corruption—Some negotiation carried on by one
" of them in London, unknown to the others—The others, pro-
" bably, unwilling to risque their estates.

" Suppression of Belfast volunteers—Feelings of the North
" thereupon—Probable consequences of any mishap befalling the
" English in the war—*Ten thousand French would accomplish a*
" *separation.*

" Secret committee—First object to vilify the Catholic com-
" mittee; failing that, to fix a charge of separation on the people
" here, and thereby induce the English minister to support a
" *union.*—Possible, by *proper* means, to carry said union; also,
" possible to fail, and then the countries infallibly separated.

" War unpopular here—trade, very bad—credit, rather better
" than in England.

" Government apparently strong and people subdued; proba-
" bly both fallacious—Accessions to people permanent, to Go-
" vernment but temporary—Gunpowder act no prevention, if
" the people are determined to have arms—Militia will not
" dragoon the people; bad policy to exasperate them and then
" make militia of them, that is, give them arms and discipline."
[To the eternal dishonor of the Irish militia, my father was mistaken in this particular; he did not calculate sufficiently on the effect of the esprit de corps in embodied troops.]

" Secret committee examine, even about me; have my letter
" to Russell; proof of their weakness, when they descend so low."

Such were the ideas fermenting in his mind. But the increasing insolence and cruelty of the administration soon roused the spirit of the people, and rallied their angry and divided parties. Openly trampling on law and decency, its oppressive measures fired the hearts of the multitude with indignation, and spread the affiliation of the United Irishmen more rapidly, than could have been done by all the efforts of the patriotic leaders. Their views were no longer bounded to Catholic emancipation and reform of

Parliament; they aimed at separation, liberty, and even revenge. Their societies took a fiercer character, and then, for the first time, began those secret oaths and associations, by which their members bound themselves; whilst the Orange lodges, with forms at least as illegal as those of the United Irishmen, and purposes as diabolical as those of the others were pure and liberal, were encouraged by the Government all over the country. To unite all sects and parties, for the independence of Ireland, was the professed object of the first; to support the exclusive privileges of the members of the Anglican church, and keep the rest of the nation in slavery forever, of the second. And, in opposing the principles of those two societies, I have selected those only which were openly avowed by both bodies.

The two parties were thus arrayed in opposition to each other, and it soon became evident that the contest could only be finally decided by force, and that if England continued to support the ruling party, with all her power and influence, the other had no resource but to break the connexion between the two countries, and establish a national and independent government. This idea had often mingled with the dreams of my father's youth; but he then, for the first time, began to consider it seriously. As foreign aid was indispensable for this purpose, since their enemies had all the power of administration, and all that of England to back them, the Irish leaders, and he amongst the rest, naturally cast their eyes and hopes, although no positive overtures were made till some time afterwards, towards the rising fortunes of the French Republic. She was then struggling, with unparalleled spirit and success, against the arms of all Europe, and animated by the most violent resentment against England. In the beginning of their revolution, the French had looked up to that country with hope and confidence; they had expected the praises and countenance of the freest and most liberal people in Europe, for breaking their own chains; and, on the first celebration of their independence, (14th July,) had blended in a wreath the flags of England and America with their own tri-color. But England, supporting the coalition of the European kings, began then, as she has continued ever since, to oppose the springing liberties of the remainder of mankind, as if she wished to monopolize the benefits of freedom, as well as those of trade and manufactures.

My father's part, during this period, was most trying and difficult. With the whig party, he was utterly disgusted. In his opinion, whatever professions they had formerly made were violated by their joining the Government in those extraordinary and illegal measures. They showed themselves as much afraid of a real and radical reform in the social organization and government of the country, as the tories themselves; and yet so unnatural was the state of Ireland, that such a change was indispensable, before it could be settled in a state of any stability. As for the revolutionary spirit, of which they now affected such fears, it might have been totally suppressed by an early conciliation of the Catholics, and a just allowance of their claims. With the Catholics and United Irishmen he had to combat alternate fits of despondency and enthusiasm, and to reconcile continual discords. At one time, when it was endeavoured to form a corps of volunteers from all the religious sects, they expressed their alarm and distrust at the small number of Protestants who presented themselves. "And are you not the nation?" replied he; "do without them; "will you not keep, if you are not corned with Protestants."

At other times, on the contrary, their enthusiasm, roused by the energetical efforts and dazzling exploits of the French Republicans, and their indignation kindled by the oppression of the Government, burst out into imprudent and extravagant excesses. My father endeavored to restrain them; but the only consequence of his efforts was, that he lost all influence in the United Irish clubs, his own creation, but who had now assumed a new spirit and organization. As in all periods of popular fermentation, the loudest and boldest talkers took the lead, and the papers teemed daily with the most imprudent and inflammatory publications. These ebullitions of impotent resentment, by which they only favored the views of the administration, he always condemned. Numbers of them agreed to call each other by the title of citizen, and he frequently received letters through the post office, written in imitation of the popular style of the French jacobins, and addressed to Citizen Theobald Wolfe Tone. His good sense pointed out to him the danger and folly of such idle demonstrations. "Make yourselves free," would he say, "and call yourselves "what you please. But you are no more citizens for shutting "yourselves up in a room, and calling yourselves by that name,

"than you would be all Peers and Noblemen, by calling each "other, My Lord." Such was his general dissatisfaction at the state of affairs, that he retired in a great degree from the political arena, and spent most of his time at a small country seat which he inherited by the death of his uncle, Capt. Jonathan Tone. On every occasion, however, of danger and difficulty, he was prominent, and ready to assume the post of peril and honor.

But it is not my purpose to write a history of Ireland. During the year which followed the passage of the act of April, 1793, the storm did not yet burst, but it was lowering and thickening every hour, with terrific and portentous gloom. Blood had not yet flowed, and the reign of torture had not yet commenced; but a noxious crowd of informers, from the fœces of society, began to appear like the vermin and insects from the mud of Egypt, under the fostering patronage of the castle; state prosecutions were multiplied beyond example; juries were packed, and iniquitous judgments rendered; the soldiery were quartered on the disaffected districts, and indulged in every licence; the affections of the people were alienated for ever, and their irritation increased to madness. It is not my intention to enter into the details of these odious transactions. Amongst the most marking events which indicated the increasing violence of all parties, and the approaching crisis of the storm, were the arrests, trials, and imprisonment of my father's friends, Archibald Hamilton Rowan, Simon Butler, and Oliver Bond. The declarations and speeches for which they were arrested, and those made on their trials, are in every history of the times, and in every recollection. It is needless here to dwell upon, or recapitulate them.

At length, in the month of April, 1794, William Jackson was arrested on a charge of high treason. This gentleman was sent by the French Government to sound the people of Ireland as to their willingness to join the French, and had received his instructions from one Madgett, an old Irishman, long settled in France, in the office of the Department for Foreign Affairs, and whose name is repeatedly mentioned in my father's journals. The sincerity of Jackson was fully demonstrated by his heroic death, but his imprudence and indiscretion rendered him totally unfit for such a mission. On his passage through England, he opened himself to an English Attorney, Cockayne, an old acquaintance of his, who instantly sold his information to the Brit-

ish Government, and was ordered by the police to follow him as an official spy. The leaders of the patriotic party and Catholics in Ireland, desirous as they were to open a communication with France, were unwilling to compromise themselves with a stranger, by answering directly to his overtures. My father, undertook to run the risque, and even engaged himself to bear their answer to that country, and deliver to its Government a statement of the wants and situation of Ireland. But, after some communications with Jackson, he was deeply disgusted by the rash and unlimited confidence which that unfortunate man seemed to repose in Cockayne. He made it a point never to open himself in his presence, and insisted on it with Jackson. "This business," said he, "is one thing for us Irishmen; but an Englishman who engages in it must be a traitor one way or the other." At length, on a glaring instance of Jackson's indiscretion, he withdrew his offers, taking care that it should be in the presence of Cockayne, who could testify nothing further against him, and declined engaging any longer in the business. Jackson was shortly after arrested.

This was an awful period. Although Cockayne could only give positive evidence against Jackson, the latter might undoubtedly have saved his life by giving information. The most violent suspicions were directed against my father, as being privy at least to those plots, if not engaged in them. Every night he expected to be arrested for examination before the Secret Committee. Several of the patriotic and Catholic leaders, most from attachment to him, some for fear of being compromised by his arrest, urged him to abscond, and many of those highly respectable and beloved friends, whom, notwithstanding the difference of their political opinions, his amiable character and social qualities had secured to him amongst the aristocracy and higher classes, joined in the same request, and pressed upon him the means necessary for that purpose. He constantly refused them. The great body of the Catholics behaved, on this occasion, with firmness and dignity, and showed a proper sense of gratitude for his former services. Several of the whig leaders, (amongst whom I am sorry to include the honorable name of Grattan,) whose party he had mortally offended by refusing to engage in their service as a pamphleteer, advised them to abandon him to his fate, and told them, "How could their Parliamentary friends

support them whilst they retained in their service a man so obnoxious and so deeply compromised?" They rejected all such overtures. I must, however, observe, that, though my father had put himself forward in their cause, on this occasion, most of their leaders were as deeply engaged as himself, and could neither in honor, in justice, nor in prudence, act otherwise—a circumstance of which Grattan was probably not aware.

During all this time he refused, much against the advice of his friends, to conceal himself; but remained, generally, at his home in the country, compiling his history of Ireland, and making occasional visits to Dublin, where he continued to act as secretary to the Catholic sub-committee. At length, by the most pressing instances with the Government, his aristocratical friends succeeded in concluding an agreement, by which, on his engaging simply to leave Ireland, as soon as he could settle his private affairs, no pursuits were to be made against him. I cannot think that the most furious partisans of that government could blame those generous and disinterested efforts, (for these friends were opposed to him in politics,) or that their names can suffer in the slightest degree by the publication of these facts. One of them, the Hon. Marcus Beresford, the amiable and accomplished, is now no more; the other, the honorable and high minded George Knox, will, I am sure, see with pleasure this homage to his virtues, by his own god-son, and the only surviving child of his departed friend.

As this compromise (for these true friends would never have proposed any other) engaged him to nothing contrary to his principles, and left his future course free, he accepted it; giving in to them a fair and exact statement of how far and how deep he had been personally engaged in this business; and adding, that he was ready to bear the consequences of whatever he had done, but would, on no account, charge, compromise, or appear against any one else.

Of this transaction, he drew, before his departure from Ireland, the following full and manly narrative, which we insert entire, as well as the statement abovementioned. The only fact which, in both these papers, he passes over in silence, from obvious and generous reasons, is, that any others were privy to these communications with Jackson. He assumes them as the sole act of his own will. A copy of the notice on the situation

of Ireland, which he had given in to Jackson, and which fell in the hands of the Government, will also be found in the Appendix.

Statement of Mr. Tone's compromise with the Irish Government.

Having seen in a newspaper report of the trial of the Rev. Wm. Jackson, the testimony of Mr. Keane, in which he mentions that he understands I have compromised with Government, I think it a duty incumbent upon me, feeling as I do that the expression carries a very invidious import, to state what the nature of that compromise is. At the time of Mr. Jackson's arrest, and Mr. Rowan's escape, and Dr. Reynolds' emigration, my situation was a very critical one. I felt the necessity of taking immediate and decided measures to extricate myself. I, therefore, went to a gentleman, high in confidence with the then administration, and told him at once fairly, every step I had taken. I told him, also, that I knew how far I was in danger; that my life was safe, unless it were unfairly practised against, which I did not at all apprehend, but that it was certainly in the power of the Government, if they pleased, to ruin me, as effectually as they possibly could by my death; that, on two points, I had made up my mind; the first was, that I would not fly; the other, that I would never open my lips, as a witness, either against Mr. Rowan, to whom I felt myself bound by the strongest ties of esteem and regard; or against Mr. Jackson, who, in whatever conversations he had held in my presence, must have supposed he was speaking to a man who would not betray him: that I had no claim whatsoever on the Government, nor should I murmur at any course they might please to adopt. What I had done, I had done, and, if necessary, I must pay the penalty; but, as my ruin might not be an object to them, I was ready, if I were allowed, and could at all accomplish it, to go to America. In the mean time, here I was, ready to submit to my fate, whatever that might be, but inflexibly determined on the two points which I have mentioned above, and from which I would sacrifice my life a thousand times, rather than recede. The gentleman to whom I addressed myself, after a short time, assured me that I should not be attacked as a principal, nor summoned as a witness; which assurance he repeated to me afterwards on another occasion, and has been very faithfully kept.

This assurance was given me, unclogged by any stipulation or condition whatsoever; and I have ever since, to the best of my judgment, observed a strict neutrality. Whether this, which is the whole of the communication between Government and me, be a *compromise* or not, I hope, at least, it is no dishonorable one. I have betrayed no friend; I have revealed no secret; I have abused no confidence. For what I had done, I was ready to suffer; I would, if necessary, submit, I hope, to death, but I would not to what I consider disgrace. As to that part of my conduct which was introductory to this unfortunate business, I leave it, without anxiety, to the censure of all inclined to condemn it.

Statement of Mr. Tone's communications with Jackson.

Some days previous to the Drogheda assizes, I was informed by A. — that there was a gentleman in town, who was very recently arrived from France, and who, he suspected, was in the confidence of the *Comité de Salut public.* I was very desirous to see him, in order to hear some account of the state of France, which might be depended on. A. — accordingly wrote a note, which he gave me to deliver, stating that he could not have the pleasure of seeing the gentleman next day, being Sunday, but would be glad he would call any other time; and, I believe, added, that the bearer was his particular friend. *I did not then, nor since, ask A. — how he became acquainted with the gentleman, nor do I yet know who introduced him.* I went with this note, and saw the gentleman and another person* at the hotel, where they lodged. I stayed about half an hour, and the conversation was either on mere general politics, or the want of accommodation for travellers in Ireland; the superiority of England in that respect, &c. On my rising to depart, the gentleman asked me to dine with him on Wednesday subsequent, which I accordingly agreed to do. On the Monday after, as I recollect, I paid a visit to A. —, which I was in the habit of doing, daily, for some time back; and, while I was there, the gentleman above mentioned and his friend came in together; and, after some time, he and A. — entered into close conversation, and his friend and I retired to a distant part of the room, where we talked of the

* *Note by the Editor.*—Cockayne.

mode of travelling in Ireland, and amused ourselves looking over Taylor's map, for about half an hour. *Neither of us heard, nor could hear, the conversation between A. — and the gentleman.* A. —, at length, beckoned me over, and I went. He then said, they had been talking of the state of the country; that I knew what that state was as well as any body; and that it was that gentleman's opinion, that if it were made fully known to people in France, they would, to a certainty, afford every assistance to enable the Irish to assert their independence. I said, that it would be a most severe and grievous remedy for our abuses, but that I saw no other; for, that liberty was shackled in Ireland by such a variety of ways, that the people had no way left to expose their sentiments but by open resistance. That, in the alternative between that and unconditional submission, many would differ; but that I was one of those who, seeing all the danger and horror of a contest, still thought the independence of the country an object worth risquing all to obtain; satisfied as I was, that, until that were secured, Ireland would never attain to her natural state of power, and opulence, and glory. In these sentiments A. — concurred, and the gentleman, as I recollect, again said, "*If this were known in France, assistance might certainly be obtained.*" The conversation, at that time, went no farther. I had a latent suspicion he might possibly be an emissary of the British minister, and, therefore, to mortify him, if that were the case, I spoke with the greatest asperity of the English nation, and of their unjust influence on the government of Ireland. His friend sat at a distance during this conversation, and I am sure could have heard no part of it, neither *did I inquire, nor do I know*, what conversation A. — and the gentleman had previous to their beckoning me over; and the reason I did not inquire, was, that, not knowing how the affair might terminate, and, especially not knowing but this person might be an English spy, I determined I would know as little of other people's secrets as I could, consistent with my taking any part in the business.

The next day, I think, I saw A. — again. He showed me a paper, admirably drawn up, in my judgment, which he said he had got from the gentleman above mentioned. The paper went to show the political state of England, and the deduction was, that an invasion there would only tend to unite all parties against the French. I said the state of Ireland was totally different,

and that it would be easy, in the same compass, to explain that on paper. He bid me try, and I agreed to do so. I do not recollect that we had any further conversation at that time. I went home, and that evening made a sketch of the state of Ireland, as it appeared to me, and the inference of my paper was, that circumstances in Ireland were favorable to a French invasion. I made no copy.

On Wednesday morning, the day I had fixed to dine with the gentleman and his friend, I found myself called upon to go down to Drogheda immediately, to arrange matters preparatory to the trial of MM. Bird and Hamill, &c. I therefore wrote, and sent an apology, stating the fact. I then went, as usual, to call on Mr. A. —, and showed him the paper. Shortly after, the gentleman and his friend came in. After a short general conversation of regret at the disappointment, &c. A. —, the gentleman, and I, retired to a window at one end of the room, and his friend took up a book and retired to the other end. The conversation between us was carried on in a very low voice, so that he could not possibly hear us. I then said, I had seen the English paper, and had attempted a similar sketch as to Ireland, which I read. As I understand some copy of that paper has been found, I refer to that for the *general outline*, only, as A. — assured me that several alterations had been made in it, some, I believe, softening, and others aggravating the matter contained. *When I had done, the gentleman asked me, "Would I intrust the paper to him?" I gave it without hesitation, but, immediately after, I saw I had been guilty of a gross indiscretion, to call it no worse, in delivering such a paper to a person whom I hardly knew, and without my knowing to what purposes he might apply it. I therefore, in about five minutes, demanded it back again; he returned it immediately, having neither opened nor read it, nor any part of it.* I then gave it to A. —, and, I believe, the precise words I used, but certainly the purport of them, was, "that if he had a mind, he might make a copy, in which case I desired him to burn the one I gave him. The conversation then turned, as before, on the state of Ireland, the necessity of seeking aid from France, and her readiness and ability to afford it, if a proper person could be found who would go over, and lay the situation of things here before the Comité de Salut public. But I do not recollect that either A. —, the gentleman,

or I, came to the definite point of myself being that proper person. I went away, leaving the paper, as I said, in the hands of A. —, and set off directly for Drogheda.

On Saturday morning, I received a letter from A. —, (a circumstance which I had forgotten until my sitting down to write, and referring to dates for greater accuracy, revived it in my memory,) expressing an earnest desire to see me immediately on indispensable business. In consequence, I set off instantly, posted up to town, and called directly on A. —. He told me that the gentleman was in a great hurry to be off, and wanted to see me of all things. I could not, however, learn that any new matter had occurred, and therefore was a little vexed at being hurried up to town for nothing. I said, however, I could call on the gentleman the next morning (Sunday) at nine, which I was, however, determined not to do, and, in consequence, instead of calling on him, set off for Drogheda at six o'clock. On Thursday I returned to town, and received a rebuke from A. — for breaking my engagement. He then told me, to my unspeakable astonishment and vexation, that he had given two or three copies of the paper I had left with him, to the gentleman, with several alterations, but that he had burned my copy, as I had desired him. Finding the thing done, and past recalling, I determined to find no fault, but to withdraw myself as soon as I could from a business wherein I saw such grievous indiscretion. I am not sure whether it was on that, or on the next morning, that the gentleman and his *friend* came in. But, after some time, the conversation was taken up on the usual topics, and, for the first time, to my knowledge, the gentleman's friend made one. Before that, he seemed to me to avoid it. I then took an opportunity, on the difficulty of a proper person being found to go to France being stated, and it being mentioned, (*I cannot precisely recollect by whom of the party*) that no one was, in all respects, so fit as myself, to recapitulate pretty nearly what I had said in all the preceding conversations on the general state of the country; and I then added, that, with regard to my going to France, I was a man of no fortune, that my sole dependence was on a profession; that I had a wife and three children, whom I dearly loved, solely depending on me for support; that I could not go and leave them totally unprovided for, and trusting to the mercy of Providence for existence; and that, con-

seqeuntly, with regard to me, the going to France was a thing totally impossible. They all agreed that what I said was reasonable, but there *was no offer of money or pecuniary assistance of any kind held out to induce me to change my determination;* a circumstance which I mention merely because I understand it is believed that some such was made.

The gentleman before mentioned was about to point out certain circumstances, which would facilitate such an expedition, if a person could be found, but I stopped him, adding that, as I could make no use of the information, I did not desire to become the depositary of secrets useless to me, and which might be dangerous to him. I think it was at this conversation, the last I was at, previous to the gentleman's being arrested, that some one, I cannot at all ascertain whom, mentioned a letter being put into the post office, containing the papers before mentioned, and directed to some person at some neutral port, but I am utterly ignorant how, or when, or to whom, the letter was addressed, or what were its contents, other than as I have now stated; and the reason of my not knowing, is, that I studiously avoided burthening my mind with secrets, which I might afterwards be forced to betray, or submit to very severe inconveniences. What happened after the gentleman's being arrested, I know not, other than by common report, having only seen him for about two minutes in A—'s apartment, on the night of his committal, when all the conversation I recollect, was, that I declared, and so did A. —, that, if we were brought before the privy council, we would each of us declare the truth as nearly as we could, consistent with our personal safety; for that all attempts at fabrication would only add infamy to peril, and that we must now take our chance.

I have now stated, as well as my memory enables me, all the material facts which came to my knowledge, or in which I took any share. I find I was present at three conversations, instead of two, as I at first thought, but that makes no difference of consequence. I cannot answer for the precise accuracy of dates, but I believe they are exact.

I have framed the foregoing narrative, relying implicitly on the honor of the gentlemen to whom I willingly confide it, that no use whatsoever shall be made of it against any one of the parties concerned, in any judicial transaction; I give it for political purposes solely.

With regard to myself, the part I have taken appears on the face of the narrative. Whatever may be the consequence, I shall make no attempt to withdraw myself or avoid the fate, whatever that be, which awaits me. I have but one thing to add, that there is no circumstance which can befall me, not even excepting an ignominious death, that I will not rather undergo, than appear as an evidence in a court of justice, to give testimony against *any one* of the parties concerned.

Dublin, May 3d, 1794.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

When my father delivered this paper, the prevalent opinion, which he then shared, was, that Jackson was a secret emissary employed by the British government. It required the unfortunate man's voluntary death to clear his character of such a foul imputation. What renders this transaction the more odious, is, that, before his arrival in Ireland, the life of Jackson was completely in the power of the British government. His evil genius was already pinned upon him; his mission from France, his every thought and his views, were known. He was allowed to proceed, not in order to detect an existing conspiracy in Ireland, but to form one, and thus increase the number of victims. A more atrocious instance of perfidious and gratuitous cruelty is scarcely to be found in the history of any country but Ireland.

Soon afterwards, the efforts of his friends, and the generous interference of Arthur Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden, and then Attorney General, effected the compromise above mentioned. I am aware many persons may think that my father did not show sufficient gratitude to the Irish government, in whose power he certainly was, to a very dangerous degree. To this I can only reply that he considered his duty to his country paramount to any personal feeling or consideration; that *their* tyranny grew more and more atrocious every day, and that, even in that extreme peril, he constantly refused to tie his hands by any engagement for the future. He would, however, have accepted the offer which they made at first to send him to the East Indies, out of the reach of European politics; perhaps they feared him even there, when they altered their minds. But confiding in the prostrate state of Ireland, they finally allowed him to

withdraw his head like the crane in Esop's fables, from the jaws of the wolf, and depart free and disengaged for his voluntary exile.

The state of his affairs did not, however, allow him to proceed on his journey for several months. During all that time, Jackson's trial was still pending, and he was frequently threatened by the more violent members of the Government that he should be compelled to appear, and be examined as a witness—a menace which he constantly spurned at. A whole year from the arrest of Jackson in April, 1794, to his trial and death in April, 1795, was spent in this anxious suspense.

Towards the beginning of the year 1795, a glimpse of hope and sunshine shone for an instant on the Irish horizon, by the momentary triumph of the whigs, and the appointment of Earl Fitz William to the Vice Royalty. On this occasion, overtures were again made to my father by that party, at first to set up a newspaper, and afterwards to write in support of their administration. The Catholic leaders, who felt the utility of which he might be to them, in such a situation, entered with eagerness into the idea, and pressed the administration, whose favor they enjoyed, on the subject. He always felt repugnant to it, and his ideas on the occasion, are couched in the following short memorandum:

"FEB. 7, 1795.—MM. Byrne, Hamill, and Keogh, waited on Mr. Grattan to recommend me to the new administration as a person who had done and suffered much in the Catholic cause. Previous to their going, I thought it right to apprize Mr. Hamill, the other two being already, and Mr. Keogh particularly, thoroughly acquainted with the circumstances of such objections as I thought might arise, on Grattan's part, against me: first, that I was an United Irishman, and probably the author of papers offensive to the *present* Government. In answer to which, I assured him, as the fact most truly was, that, in that club, I never had any influence; so far from it, that I was always looked on as a suspicious character, or, at best, a Catholic partizan, endeavoring to make the club an instrument of their emancipation, at the sacrifice of all its other objects; that, since May, 1793, I had never attended its meetings, or taken any part in its concerns, which conduct I had adopted in consequence of an address, carried totally against my judgment, and calling on

the Catholics, immediately on the passing of their bill, to come forward and demand a reform, a measure which I looked upon as mischievous and insidious; that I had never written but one paper on the committal of Butler and Bond, by the Secret Committee, which paper would be found, I did think, a very moderate one, and that I was, of course, not the author of the papers offensive to the *present* administration. The next probable objection which I thought might arise, was about the national guards. In answer to which, I stated that, during the whole of that business, as well as of the publication, "Citizen soldiers, to arms," I was in London, attending the Catholic delegates, and, of course, could not be concerned, for which I appealed to Mr. Keogh. The third objection was more serious, which was the part I had in Jackson and Rowan's business, which is fully detailed in other parts of my memorandums. That, with regard to that, all I could say was, that my conduct had been undoubtedly very indiscreet, in that business, but such as it was I had stated it fully to the late administration, who, after consideration maturely had, were not of opinion that it was such as to call for punishment; that I had positive assurances to that effect, and even a letter written by Secretary Hamilton, by order of Lord Westmoreland, guarantying me from all attack; that, therefore, I did hope I should find myself, if not bettered, at least not injured by the late change in the Government. The rest of the topics of defence on this head I left to Keogh, with whom I had, at great length, mooted the whole affair a few days back.

"Hamill said 'All this was very fair, but was he to understand that they were at liberty to state to Mr. Grattan my inclination to support the present Government?' I said, 'By no means; if that were to be so, it would become a matter of bargain and sale, without any compliment paid to the great body whom he was to represent; that I wished it should have no aspect to the future, but should rest on the merits of *past* services rendered to the Catholics.' At the same time, I added, he might state a disposition on my part, towards the new administration, grounded on some of their measures, which had already developed themselves, such as Catholic emancipation, and the nominations to the Primacy and Provostship. This, however, I guarded, by saying there were others, to the support of which I would not be purchased by their whole patronage: such as this

infamous war; any thing reflecting on the North of Ireland, or on Parliamentary reform; that, sooner than lend any countenance to such measures, I would, if necessary, put £50 in my pocket, and transport myself to the farthest corner of the earth. Subject, however, to this exception, there were many topics, particularly all Catholic measures, in which I could promise them my most cordial support, but that I feared (and I am sure the fact is so) that the measures I would object to, would be, perhaps, the only ones which they would thank me for defending.

"Having had this eclaircissement, the deputation went off, and I write these memorandums, waiting the event of their application, I thank God, with the most perfect serenity. I have never indulged any idle or extravagant expectations, and, therefore, it is not in the power of man to disappoint me. My belief is, the application will fail, and, if so, I am no worse than I was.

"I should have added above, in its place, that I told Mr. Hamill I did not *wish* to form any connexion with the present administration, because I thought I foresaw they would not long retain nor deserve the confidence of the people; and I again repeated I wished to stand solely on the recommendation of the Catholic body, and not on any services rendered, or to be rendered, by myself."

My father finally refused this offer, declaring that he felt the highest respect for Lord Fitz William's character; that he entertained no doubt his measures would always deserve support, and that he would support them, as an individual, as long as he approved of them, but that he could enter into no engagement. In fact, his political principles had taken, from a very early period, a loftier flight than those of the whigs. He thought their views narrow, their ends selfish, and their measures tending rather to the aggrandizement of their party than to the permanent and general good of the country. The whigs were highly irritated at this refusal; and Mr. Ponsonby, who expected to be appointed Attorney General, hinted that, "perhaps Mr. Tone would not find the next Attorney General so accommodating as the last." On Lord Fitz William's recall in March, 1795, my father received a new proof of the affection and confidence of the Catholics, by their appointing him, in this precarious situation, to accompany the deputation which they sent to solicit from the

Monarch the continuance of his Lordship in the administration, and to draw the petition for this purpose, and the address to his Lordship. On the month of April following, soon after his return, the trial and death of Jackson took place. It nobly redeemed his previous errors.

With the Vice Royalty of Lord Camden began the triumvirate of those three noble Earls, Camden, Carhampton, and Clare, who, by a series of increasing persecutions, succeeded at length in driving the people to madness, and open and general insurrection. But towards the beginning of his administration, my father put in execution his agreement with the Government to leave Ireland. The votes of thanks which he received from the Catholics of Dublin, on resigning his appointment as their Secretary and Agent, are subjoined in the Appendix, and the honors which were paid to him, there and in Belfast, his last secret instructions to follow up the negotiation begun with Jackson, and the events which occurred between his departure from Ireland and his arrival in France, are contained in the following brief continuation of these memoirs, which he wrote before embarking in the Bantry Bay expedition.

CONTINUATION

Of the Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone, *written by himself.*

Rennes, *September* 28, 1796.

As my time is growing shorter, I pass over a very busy interval of my life, all the important events of which are detailed in different diaries among my papers, and I hasten to the period, when, in consequence of the conviction of William Jackson, for high treason, I was obliged to quit my country, and go into exile in America. A short time before my departure, my friend Russell being in town, he and I walked out together, to Rathfarnham, to see Emmet, who has a charming villa there. He showed us a little study, of an elliptical form, which he was building at the bottom of the lawn, and which he said he would consecrate to our meetings, if ever we lived to see our country emancipated. I begged of him, if he intended Russell should be of the party, in addition to the books and maps it would

naturally contain, to fit up a small cellaret, which should contain a few dozens of his best old claret. He showed me that he had not omitted that circumstance, which he acknowledged to be essential, and we both rallied Russell with considerable success. I mention this trifling anecdote because I love the men, and because it seems now, at least possible, that we may yet meet again in Emmet's study. As we walked together into town, I opened my plan to them both. I told them that I considered my compromise with Government to extend no further than the banks of the Delaware, and that the moment I landed, I was free to follow any plan which might suggest itself to me, for the emancipation of my country; that, undoubtedly, I was guilty of a great offence against the existing Government; that, in consequence, I was going into exile; and that I considered that exile as a full expiation for the offence; and, consequently, felt myself at liberty, having made that sacrifice, to begin again on a fresh score. They both agreed with me in those principles, and I then proceeded to tell them that my intention was, immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, to wait on the French Minister, to detail to him, fully, the situation of affairs in Ireland, to endeavor to obtain a recommendation to the French Government, and, if I succeeded so far, to leave my family in America, and to set off instantly for Paris, and apply, in the name of my country, for the assistance of France, to enable us to assert our independence. It is unnecessary, I believe, to say, that this plan met with the warmest approbation and support from both Russell and Emmet; we shook hands, and, having repeated our professions of unalterable regard and esteem for each other, we parted; and this was the last interview which I was so happy as to have with those two invaluable friends together. I remember it was in a little triangular field that this conversation took place; and Emmet remarked to us that it was in one exactly like it in Switzerland, where William Tell and his associates planned the downfall of the tyranny of Austria. The next day Russell returned to Belfast.

As I was determined not to appear to leave Ireland clandestinely, whatever might be the hazard, I took care, on the day of Jackson's trial, to walk up and down in the most public streets in Dublin, and to go, contrary to my usual custom, into several of the most frequented coffee houses, and to my bookseller's, which was

still more frequented. In this last place I was seen by Lord Mountjoy, who gave himself the pains to call on the Attorney General* the next day, and inform him that I was to be found, for that he had seen me in *Archer's* the day before. The Attorney General gave him, however, no thanks for his pains, and so the affair ended; my obligation, however, to his Lordship, is not the less for his good intentions. Having made this sacrifice to appearances, I set, with all diligence, to prepare for my departure; I sold off all my little property of every kind, reserving only my books, of which I had a very good selection of about six hundred volumes, and I determined to take leave of nobody. I also resolved not to call on any of my friends, not even Knox or Emmet, for, as I knew the part I had taken in Jackson's affair had raised a violent outcry against me, with a very numerous and powerful party, I resolved not to implicate any of those I regarded in the difficulties of my situation. Satisfied as I was of the rectitude of my own conduct, and of the purity of my motives, I believe I should have had fortitude to bear the desertion of my best friends; but, to their honor be it spoken, I was not put to so severe a trial. I did not lose the countenance and support of any one man whom I esteemed; and I believe that I secured the continuance of their regard by the firmness I had shown all along through this most arduous and painful trial; and, especially, by my repeated declarations, that I was ready to sacrifice my life, if necessary, but that I would never degrade myself by giving testimony against a man who had spoken to me in the confidence that I would not betray him. I have said that after Jackson's death I visited nobody; but all my friends made it, I believe, a point to call on me; so that for the short time I remained in Dublin after, we were never an hour alone. My friends M'Cormick and Keogh, who had both interested themselves extremely, all along, on my behalf, and had been principally instrumental in passing the vote for granting me the sum of £300, in addition to the arrears due me by the Catholics, were, of course, amongst the foremost. It was hardly necessary, to men of their foresight, and who knew me perfectly, to mention my plans; however, for greater certainty, I consulted them both, and I received, as I expected,

* Wolfe, afterwards Lord Kilwarden.

their most cordial approbation, and they both laid the most positive injunctions upon me to leave nothing unattempted on my part, to force my way to France, and lay our situation before the Government there, observing, at the same time, that if I succeeded, there was nothing in the power of my country to bestow, to which I might not fairly pretend. It has often astonished me, and them, also, that the Government, knowing there was a French Minister at Philadelphia, ever suffered me to go thither, at least without exacting some positive assurance on my part that I should hold no communication with him, direct or indirect; so it was, however, that, either despising my efforts, or looking on themselves as too firmly established to dread any thing from France, they suffered me to depart, without demanding any satisfaction whatsoever on that topic—a circumstance of which I was most sincerely glad: for had I been obliged to give my parole, I should have been exceedingly distracted between opposite duties; luckily, however, I was spared the difficulty: for they suffered me to depart without any stipulation whatsoever. Perhaps it would have been better for them, if they had adhered to their first proposal of sending me out to India, but as to that, the event will determine.

Having paid all my debts, and settled with every body, I set off from Dublin for Belfast on the 20th May, 1795, with my wife, sister, and three children, leaving, as may well be supposed, my father and mother in very sincere affliction. My whole property consisted in our clothes, my books, and about £700 in money and bills on Philadelphia. We kept our spirits admirably. The great attention manifested to us, the conviction that we were suffering in the best of causes, the hurry attending so great a change, and, perhaps, a little vanity in showing ourselves superior to fortune, supported us under what was certainly a trial of the severest kind. But if our friends in Dublin were kind and affectionate, those in Belfast, if possible, were still more so. During near a month that we remained there, we were every day engaged by one or other; even those who scarcely knew me were eager to entertain us; parties and excursions were planned for our amusements; and, certainly the whole of our deportment and reception at Belfast very little resembled those of a man who escaped with his life only by miracle, and who was driven into exile to avoid a more

disgraceful fate. I remember, particularly, two days that we passed on the Cave hill. On the first, Russell, Neilson, Simms, M'Cracken, and one or two more of us, on the summit of M'Art's fort, took a solemn obligation, which, I think I may say, I have, on my part, endeavored to fulfil—never to desist in our efforts, until we had subverted the authority of England over our country, and asserted her independence. Another day we had the tent of the first regiment pitched in the Deer Park, and a company of thirty of us, including the family of the Simms's, Neilson's, M'Cracken's, and my own, dined and spent the day together deliciously. But the most agreeable day we passed during our stay, and one of the most agreeable of our lives, was in an excursion we made with the Simms's, Neilson, and Russell, to Ram's Island, a beautiful and romantic spot in Loch Neagh. Nothing can be imagined more delightful, and we agreed, in whatever quarter we might find ourselves, respectively, to commemorate the anniversary of that day, the 11th of June. At length the hour of our departure arrived. On the 13th June, we embarked on board the Cincinnatus, of Wilmington, Capt. James Robinson, and I flatter myself we carried with us the regret of all who knew us. Even some of my former friends, who had long since deserted me, returned on this reverse of my fortune, struck, I believe, with the steadiness with which we all looked it into the face. Our friends in Belfast loaded us with presents on our departure, and filled our little cabin with sea stores, fresh provisions, sweetmeats, and every thing they could devise for the comfort of my wife and children. Never, whilst I live, will I forget the affectionate kindness of their behavior. Before my departure, I explained to Simms, Neilson, and C. G. Teeling, my intentions with regard to my conduct in America, and I had the satisfaction to find it met, in all respects, with their perfect approbation; and I now looked upon myself as competent to speak fully and with confidence for the Catholics, for the Dissenters, and for the defenders of Ireland.

We were now at sea, and at leisure to examine our situation. I had hired a state room, which was about eight feet by six, in which we had fitted up three births; my wife and our youngest little boy occupied one, my sister and my little girl the second, and our eldest boy and myself the third. It was at first grievously

inconvenient, but necessity and custom by degrees reconciled us to our situation; our greatest suffering was want of good water, under which we labored the whole passage, and which we found it impossible to replace by wine, porter, or spirits, of which we had abundance. The captain was tolerably civil, the vessel was stout, and we had good weather almost the whole of our voyage. But we were 300 passengers on board of a ship of 230 tons, and of course crowded to a degree not to be conceived by those who have not been on board a passenger ship. The slaves who are carried from the coast of Africa have much more room allowed them than the miserable emigrants who pass from Ireland to America; for the avarice of the captains in that trade is such, that they think they never can load their vessels sufficiently, and they trouble their heads in general no more about the accommodation and stowage of their passengers, than of any other lumber aboard. I labored, and with some success, to introduce something like a police, and a certain degree, though a very imperfect one, of cleanliness among them. Certainly the air of the sea must be wonderfully wholesome; for, if the same number of wretches of us had been shut up in the same space ashore, with so much inconvenience of every kind about us, two thirds of us would have died in the time of our voyage. As it was, in spite of every thing, we were tolerably healthy; we lost but one passenger, a woman; we had some sick aboard, and the friendship of James Macdonnell, of Belfast, having supplied me with a small medicine chest and written directions, I took on myself the office of physician. I prescribed and administered accordingly, and I had the satisfaction to land all my patients safe and sound. As we distributed liberally the surplus of our sea stores, of which we had great abundance, and especially as we gave, from time to time, wine and porter to the sick and aged, we soon became very popular aboard, and I am sure there was no sacrifice to our ease or convenience, in the power of our poor fellow passengers to make, that we might not have commanded. Thirty days of our voyage had now passed over without any event, save the ordinary ones of seeing now a shoal of porpoises, now a shark, now a set of dolphins, the peacocks of the sea, playing about, and once or twice a whale. We had, indeed, been brought to, when about a week at sea, by the William Pitt, Indiaman, which was returning to Europe with about

twenty other ships, under convoy of four or five men of war; but on examining our papers, they suffered us to proceed. At length, about the 20th of July, some time after we had cleared the banks of Newfoundland, we were stopped by three British frigates, the Thetis, Capt. Lord Cochrane, the Hussar, Captain Rose, and the Esperance, Capt. Wood, who boarded us, and after treating us with the greatest insolence, both officers and sailors, they pressed every one of our hands, save one, and near fifty of my unfortunate fellow passengers, who were most of them flying to America to avoid the tyranny of a bad government at home, and who thus most unexpectedly fell under the severest tyranny, one of them at least, which exists. As I was in a jacket and trowsers, one of the lieutenants ordered me into the boat, as a fit man to serve the king, and it was only the screams of my wife and sister which induced him to desist. It would have been a pretty termination to my adventures if I had been pressed and sent on board a man of war. The insolence of these tyrants, as well to myself as to my poor fellow passengers, in whose fate a fellowship in misfortune had interested me, I have not since forgotten, and I never will. At length, after detaining us two days, during which they rummaged us at least twenty times, they suffered us to proceed.

On the 30th July, we made Cape Henlopen; the 31st we ran up the Delaware, and the 1st of August we landed safe at Wilmington, not one of us providentially having been for an hour indisposed on the passage, nor even sea sick. Those only who have had their wives, their children, and all in short that is dear to them floating for seven or eight weeks at the mercy of the winds and waves, can conceive the transport I felt at seeing my wife and our darling babies ashore once again in health and in safety. We set up at the principal tavern, kept by an Irishman, one Captain O'Byrne O'Flynn, (I think,) for all the taverns in America are kept by majors and captains, either of militia or continentals, and in a few days we had entirely recruited our strength and spirits, and totally forgotten the fatigues of the voyage.

During our stay in Wilmington, we formed an acquaintance, which was of some service and a great deal of pleasure to us, with a general Humpton, an old continental officer. He was an Englishman, born in Yorkshire, and had been a major in the

25th regiment, but, on the breaking out of the American war, he resigned his commission, and offered his services to Congress, who immediately gave him a regiment, from which he rose by degrees to his present rank. He was a beautiful, hale, stout old man, of near seventy, perfectly the soldier and the gentleman, and he took a great liking to us, as we did to him on our part. On our removal to Philadelphia, he found us a lodging with one of his acquaintance, and rendered all the little services and attentions that our situation as strangers required, which indeed he continued without remission, during the whole of my stay in America, and I doubt not equally since my departure. I have a sincere and grateful sense of the kindness of this worthy veteran.

Immediately on my arrival in Philadelphia, which was about the 7th or 8th of August, I found out my old friend and brother exile, *Dr. Reynolds*, who seemed, to my very great satisfaction, very comfortably settled. From him I learned that Hamilton Rowan had arrived about six weeks before me from France, and that same evening we all three met. It was a singular rencontre, and our several escapes from an ignominious death seemed little short of a miracle. We communicated respectively our several adventures, since our last interview, which took place in the gaol of Newgate in Dublin, fourteen months before. In Reynolds' adventures there was nothing very extraordinary. Rowan had been seized and thrown into prison immediately on his landing near Brest, from whence he was rescued by the interference of a young man named Sullivan, an Irishman, in the service of the Republic, and sent on to Paris, to the Committee of Public Safety, by *Prieur de la Marne*, the Deputy on Mission. On his arrival, he was seized with a most dangerous fever, from which he narrowly escaped with his life; when he recovered, as well as during his illness, he was maintained by the French Government; he gave in some memorials on the state of Ireland, and began, from the reception he met with, to conceive some hopes of success, but immediately after, came on the famous 9th Thermidor, the downfall of Robespierre, and the dissolution of the Committee of Public Safety. The total change which this produced in the politics of France, and the attention of every man being occupied by his own immediate personal safety, were the cause that Rowan and his plans were forgotten in the con-

fusion. After remaining, therefore, several months, and seeing no likelihood of bringing matters to any favorable issue, he yielded to the solicitude of his family and friends, and embarked at Havre for New York, where he arrived about the middle of June, 1795, after a tedious passage of eleven weeks.

It is unnecessary to detail again my adventures, which I related to them at full length, as well as every thing relating to the state of politics in Ireland, about which, it may be well supposed, their curiosity and anxiety were extreme. I then proceeded to tell them my designs, and that I intended waiting the next day on the French Minister, with such credentials as I had brought with me, which were the two votes of thanks of the Catholics, and my certificate of admission into the Belfast volunteers, engrossed on vellum, and signed by the Chairman and Secretaries; and, I added, that I would refer to them both for my credibility, in case the Minister had any doubts. Rowan offered to come with me, and introduce me to the Minister, Citizen Adet, whom he had known in Paris; but I observed to him, that as there were English agents without number in Philadelphia, he was most probably watched, and, consequently, his being seen to go with me to Adet, might materially prejudice his interests in Ireland. I, therefore, declined his offer, but I requested of him a letter of introduction, which he gave me accordingly, and the next day I waited on the Minister, who received me very politely. He spoke English very imperfectly, and I French a great deal worse; however, we made a shift to understand one another; he read my certificates and Rowan's letter, and he begged me to throw on paper, in the form of a memorial, all I had to communicate on the subject of Ireland. This I accordingly did in the course of two or three days, though with great difficulty, on account of the burning heat of the climate, so different from what I had been used to, the thermometer varying between ninety and ninety-seven. At length, however, I finished my memorial, such as it was, and brought it to Adet, and I offered him, at the same time, if he thought it would forward the business, to embark in the first vessel which sailed for France; but the Minister, for some reason, seemed not much to desire this, and he eluded my offer by reminding me of the great risk I ran, as the British stopped and carried into their ports indiscriminately, all American vessels bound for France; he assur-

ed me, however, I might rely on my memorial being transmitted to the French Government, and backed with his strongest recommendations; and he also promised to write particularly to procure the enlargement of my brother Matthew, who was then in prison at Guise; all which I have since found he faithfully performed.

I had now discharged my conscience, as to my duty to my country; and it was with the sincerest and deepest contristation of mind that I saw this, my last effort, likely to be of so little effect. It was barely possible, but I did not much expect that the French Government might take notice of my memorial, and if they did not, there was an end of all my hopes. I now began to endeavor to bend my mind to my situation, but to no purpose. I moved my family, first to Westchester, and then to Downingstown, both in the state of Pennsylvania, about thirty miles from Philadelphia, and I began to look about for a small plantation, such as might suit the shattered state of my finances, on which the enormous expense of living in Philadelphia, three times as dear as at Paris, or even London, was beginning to make a sensible inroad. While they remained there, in the neighborhood of our friend General Humpton, whose kindness and attention continued unabated, I made diverse excursions, on foot and in the stage-wagons, in quest of a farm. The situation of Princeton, in New Jersey, struck me, for a variety of reasons, and I determined, if possible, to settle in that neighborhood. I accordingly agreed with a Dutch farmer for a plantation of one hundred acres, with a small wooden house, which would have suited me well enough, for which I was to pay £750 of that currency; but the fellow was too covetous, and after all was, I thought, finished, he retracted, and wanted to screw more out of me, on which I broke off the treaty in a rage, and he began to repent, but I was obstinate. At length I agreed with a Captain Leonard for a plantation of 180 acres, beautifully situated within two miles of Princeton, and half of it under timber. I was to pay £1,180 currency, and I believe it was worth the money. I moved, in consequence, my family to Princeton, where I hired a small house for the winter, which I furnished frugally and decently. I fitted up my study, and began to think my lot was cast to be an American farmer.

In this frame of mind I continued for some time, waiting for the lawyer who was employed to draw the deeds, and expecting next Spring to remove to my purchase, and to begin farming at last, when, one day I was roused from my lethargy by the receipt of letters from Keogh, Russell, and the two Simms's, wherein, after professions of the warmest and sincerest regard, they proceeded to acquaint me that the state of the public mind in Ireland was advancing to republicanism faster than even I could believe; and they pressed me, in the strongest manner, to fulfil the engagement I had made with them at my departure, and to move heaven and earth to force my way to the French Government, in order to supplicate their assistance. Wm. Simms, at the end of a most friendly and affectionate letter, desired me to draw upon him for £200 sterling, and that my bill should be punctually paid, an offer, at the liberality of which, well as I knew the man, I confess I was surprised. I immediately handed the letters to my wife and sister, and desired their opinion, which I foresaw would be that I should immediately, if possible, set out for France. My wife, especially, whose courage, and whose zeal for my honor and interests were not in the least abated by all her past sufferings, supplicated me to let no consideration of her or our children stand, for a moment, in the way of my engagements to our friends, and my duty to my country; adding, that she would answer for our family during my absence, and that the same Providence which had so often, as it were, miraculously preserved us, would, she was confident, not desert us now. My sister joined her in those intreaties, and it may well be supposed I required no great supplication to induce me to make one more attempt in a cause to which I had been so long devoted. I set off, accordingly, the next morning (it being this time about the end of November) for Philadelphia, and went, immediately on my arrival, to Adet, to whom I showed the letters I had just received, and I referred him to Rowan, who was then in town, for the character of the writers. I had the satisfaction, contrary to my expectations, to find Adet as willing to forward and assist my design now, as he seemed, to me at least, lukewarm, when I saw him before, in August. He told me, immediately, that he would give me letters to the French Government, recommending me in the strongest manner, and, also, money to bear my expenses, if

necessary. I thanked him most sincerely for the letters, but I declined accepting any pecuniary assistance. Having thus far surmounted my difficulties, I wrote for my brother Arthur, who was at Princeton, to come to me immediately, and I fitted him out with all expedition for sea. Having entrusted him with my determination of sailing for France in the first vessel, I ordered him to communicate this, immediately on his arrival in Ireland, to Neilson, Simms, and Russell, in Belfast, and to Keogh and M'Cormick only, in Dublin. To every one else, including, especially, my father and mother, I desired him to say that I had purchased, and was settled upon my farm, near Princeton. Having fully instructed him, I put him on board the Susanna, Capt. Baird, bound for Belfast, and, on the 10th of December, 1795, he sailed from Philadelphia, and, I presume, he arrived safe, but, as yet, I have had no opportunity of hearing of him. Having despatched him, I settled all my affairs as speedily as possible. I drew on Simms for £200 pounds, agreeable to his letter, £150 sterling of which I devoted to my voyage; my friend Reynolds procured me Louis d'ors at the bank for £100 sterling worth of silver. I converted the remainder of my little property into bank stock, and having signed a general power of attorney to my wife, I waited finally on Adet, who gave me a letter in cypher, directed to the Comite de Salut public, the only credential which I intended to bring with me to France. I spent one day in Philadelphia with Reynolds, Rowan, and my old friend and fellow-sufferer James Napper Tandy, who, after a long concealment and many adventures, was recently arrived from Hamburgh, and, at length, on the 13th December, at night, I arrived at Princeton, whither Rowan accompanied me, bringing with me a few presents for my wife, sister, and our dear little babies. That night we supped together in high spirits, and Rowan retiring immediately after, my wife, sister, and I, sat together till very late, engaged in that kind of animated and enthusiastic conversation which our characters, and the nature of the enterprise I was embarked in, may be supposed to give rise to. The courage and firmness of the women supported me, and them too, beyond my expectations; we had neither tears nor lamentations, but, on the contrary, the most ardent hope, and the most steady resolution. At length, at four the next morning, I embraced them both for the last time, and we parted with a steadiness which astonished

me. On the 16th December I arrived in New York, and took my passage on board the ship Jersey, Capt. George Barons. I remained in New York for ten days, during which time I wrote continually to my family, and a day or two before my departure I received a letter from my wife informing me that she was with child, a circumstance which she had concealed so far, I am sure, lest it might have had some influence on my determination. On the 1st January, 1796, I sailed from Sandy Hook, with nine fellow passengers, all French, bound for Havre de Grace. Our voyage lasted exactly one month, during the most part of which we had heavy blowing weather; five times we had such gales of wind as obliged us to lie under a close reefed mizen stay-sail; however, our ship was stout. We had plenty of provisions, wine, brandy, and, especially, what I thought more of, remembering my last voyage, excellent water, so that I had no reason to complain of my passage. We did not meet a single vessel of force, either French or English; we passed three or four Americans, bound mostly, like ourselves, to France. On the 27th we were in soundings, at 85 fathoms; on the 28th we made the Lizard, and, at length, on the 1st of February, we landed in safety at Havre de Grace, having met with not the smallest accident during our voyage. My adventures, from this date, are fully detailed in the Diary, which I have kept regularly since my arrival in France.

APPENDIX

TO THE

LIFE OF THEOBALD WOLFE TONE,

Previous to his Mission to France.

THIS Appendix comprises a selection amongst such of his Memorandums, Notes, and Letters, as we have been able to recover, and deemed illustrative of the character of the author, or of the times in which he lived. They were written with the utmost carelessness, and destined for the perusal of only one or two friends. As my father and his friends had the habit of designating each other by mock names, drawn from any trivial circumstance, the following key will be necessary to understand the fragments of his Journals.

Mr. Hutton, or John Hutton—means Mr. Tone.
P. P. Clerk of the Parish—Mr. T. Russell, his friend.
Blefescu—The City of Belfast.

The Draper,	Mr. Wm. Sinclair	*United Irish leaders in Belfast.*
The Jacobin,	Mr. Samuel Neilson	
The Tanner,	Mr. Robert Simms	
The Hypocrite,	Dr. Macdonnell	
The Irish Slave,	Mr. Macabe	
The Keeper,	Whitley Stokes*	*United Irish leaders in Dublin.*
The Tribune	J. Napper Tandy	
The Vintner,	Mr. Edward Byrne, of Mullnaihack	
Gog,	Mr. John Keogh	
Magog,	Mr. R. M'Cormick†	

* Dean of Trinity College.
† Secretary of the Catholic Committee.

Fragments of Memorandums previous to 1791.

June 21, 1789. Fitzgibbon's want of temper and undoubted partiality will let in his resentments and his affections to bias his decisions. But Lord Earlsfort is an ignorant man, and a stupid man, and a corrupt man.

Mem. The committee for drawing up the address to the Chancellor, being headed by Egan and Tom Fitzgerald, were said by Curran to be more like a committee for drawing a wagon, than for drawing up an address.

Mem. When the Chief Baron, at the time of the King's illness, went over to London, his companions were Curran, Egan, and R. Barrett; on which Fitzgibbon remarked, that he travelled like a mountebank, with a monkey, a bear, and a slight-of-hand man.

June 20, 1790. My idea of political sentiment in Ireland, is, that, in the middling ranks, and, indeed, in the spirit of the people, there is a great fund of it, but stifled and suppressed, as much as possible, by the expensive depravity and corruption of those who, from rank and circumstances, constitute the legislature. Whatever has been done, has been by the people, strictly speaking, who have not often been wanting to themselves, when informed of their interests by such men as Swift, Flood, Grattan, &c.

Mem. Michael Smith went six years round before he made half a guinea. Downes, in the year 1783, received his first brief in a record, by the joint influence and procurement of Dudley Hussey, Dennis George, and Michael Smith; but they engaged him in every cause on that circuit, and he had merit to sustain the recommendation.

Mem. Wolfe is the Chancellor's private tutor in legal matters. Fitzgibbon has read Coke and Littleton, under his papa; he has a very intelligent clerk to note his briefs; he has Boyd to hunt his cases; and he has some talents, great readiness, and assurance; and there is Fitzgibbon.

Mem. Erskine, who, in England, is not looked upon as a very sound lawyer, knows more law than the twelve Judges of Ireland, *plus* the Chancellor.

August 4, 1790. Wogan Browne, Esq. foreman of the grand jury of county Kildare, sent down this evening to the bar-room

a newspaper of the 3d, containing the resolutions of the Whig Club, in answer to a printed speech, purporting to be that of the Chancellor, on the election of Alderman James. It was enclosed in the following letter: "Mr. Wogan Browne presents "his compliments to the gentlemen of the Bar; he encloses them "this day's paper, which he has just now received; he requests "they will return it to him, and hopes they will find in the vin- "dication of the Whig Club, principles similar to their own: as "honest and blunt men must look up to talents for the support "of their most undenied rights, in times when they are so "shamefully invaded."

This bold and manly epistle struck the bar of a heap. The father, a supporter of opposition in Parliament, was here only solicitous how he should escape giving an answer, which, indeed, every man, save one or two, seemed desirous to shift on his neighbor. Burn and Burrowes were decided to meet the letter boldly; Brownrigg and Lespinasse for taking no further notice than acknowledging the receipt; the first, on the principle of preserving the harmony of the bar; the latter, for some time, could assign no reason for his opinion, other than that he did not know who Mr. Browne was; but, at length, when pressed, he said, with equal candor and liberality, "that he did not like to "receive any thing from a reformed Papist." The general sense seeming to be for something in reply which should be perfectly insipid, I grew out of patience, and proposed, I confess without hope of its being adopted, a resolution to the following purport: That the Leinster Bar, in common with the Whig Club, and many other respectable societies, felt the warmest indignation and abhorrence of the late unconstitutional proceedings of the Privy Council, in the election of Alderman James—proceedings no less formidable to the liberties of the capital, than alarming to every city in the kingdom, as forming part of a system, evidently subversive of their franchises, whether established by custom, charter, or the statute law of the land.

This resolution the majority seemed determined to conceive that I was not serious in; yet I was. However, being utterly hopeless of support, I did not press it. Two or three civil notes were proposed, of which the following, by Rochford, may serve as a sample. "The Leinster Bar present their compli-

"ments to Mr. Wogan Browne, and are thankful to him for "his obliging communication of this day's paper, which they "have the honor of returning."

However, the sense of shame in the majority was too high to admit so milky a composition, and, at length, after much irregular scuffling, the following was adopted as an answer, on my proposal, which I premised by stating that it had not my own approbation, as being too feeble: "The Leinster Bar re-"turn their thanks to Mr. Wogan Browne, for his early com-"munication of the resolutions of the Whig Club. However, "individually, a majority of the gentlemen present may approve "of the spirit of these resolutions, yet, as many respectable "members are absent, the Bar, as a body, do not feel them-"selves authorized to give any further opinion on the subject of "Mr. Browne's letter."

The words "majority of gentlemen present," being objected to by Mr. Moore, produced a division to ascertain the point, when nine were for continuing and five were for expunging them.

N. B. Such is the public spirit and virtue of the Leinster Bar.

Fragments of Notes, Letters, and Memorandums, of 1791.

Note of the Editor.—Towards the close of this year, and at the period of my father's first journey to Belfast, he began, as he states in his own life, to keep the regular series of those journals, of which we have recovered these fragments.

July 14, 1791. I sent down to Belfast, resolutions suited to this day, and reduced to three heads. 1st, That English influence in Ireland was the great grievance of the country. 2d, That the most effectual way to oppose it was by a reform in Parliament. 3d, That no reform could be just or efficacious, which did not include the Catholics, which last opinion, however, in concession to prejudices, was rather insinuated than asserted.

I am, this day, July 17, 1791, informed that the last question was lost. If so, my present impression is, to become a red hot Catholic; seeing that in the party, apparently, and perhaps really, most anxious for reform, it is rather a monopoly, than an extension of liberty, which is their object, contrary to all justice and expediency.

Journey to Belfast, October, 1791.

Wednesday, Oct. 11, 1791. Arrived at Belfast late, and was introduced to Digges, but no material conversation. Bonfires, illuminations, firing twenty-one guns, volunteers, &c.

October 12. Introduced to McTier and Sinclair. A meeting between Russell, M'Tier, Macabe, and me. Mode of doing business by a Secret Committee, who are not known or suspected of co-operating, but who, in fact, direct the movements of Belfast. Much conversation about the Catholics, and their committee, &c. of which they know wonderfully little at *Blefescu*. Settled to dine with the Secret Committee at Drew's, on Saturday, when the resolutions, &c. of the United Irish will be submitted. Sent them off, and sat down to new model the former copy. Very curious to see how the thermometer of Blefescu has risen, as to politics. Passages in the first copy, which were three months ago esteemed too hazardous to propose, are now found too tame. Those taken out, and replaced by other and better ones. Sinclair came in; read and approved the resolutions, as new modelled. Russell gave him a mighty pretty history of the Roman Catholic Committee, and his own negotiations. Christened Russell *P. P. Clerk of this Parish*. Sinclair asked us to dine and meet Digges, which we acceded to with great affability. Went to Sinclair, and dined. A great deal of general politics and *wine*. Paine's book, the Koran of Blefescu. History of the Down and Antrim elections. The Reeve of the shire a semi-whig. P. P. very drunk. Home; bed.

October 13. Much good jesting in bed, at the expense of P. P. Laughed myself into good humor. Rose. Breakfast. Dr. McDonnell. Much conversation regarding Digges. Went to meet Neilson; read over the resolutions with him, which he approved. Went to H. Joy's, to thank him for his proposing me at the Northern Whig Club. He invited Digges, P. P., and me, for Friday next, which we accepted. Made further alterations in the resolutions, by advice of Digges. Went to Gordon's. Very respectable people, and a large company. Drank nothing. Went, at 9, to the card club, with Gordon and P. P. Came home early, much fatigued, and went to bed.

October 14. Breakfasted with Digges at his lodgings. Met Capt. Seward, who carried out Mr. Pearce to America. Pearce now living in President Washington's house. Met Macabe, who is going to England. He shewed P. P. and me certain curious drawings. Met McTier, and shewed him the resolutions, as amended. Curious discourse with a hair-dresser, one Taylor, who has two children christened by the priest, though he is himself a Dissenter, merely with a wish to blend the sects. Visited Jordan, who is an extraordinary young man, and lives in a baby-house. Walked all about the town, seeing sights. Four o'clock; went to dinner to meet the Secret Committee, who consist of Wm. Sinclair, McTier, Neilson, McLeary, Macabe, Simms 1st, and Simms 2d, Haslitt, Tennant, Campbell, McIlvaine, P. P., and myself. P. P. and I made our declarations of secrecy, and proceeded to business. P. P. made a long speech, stating the present state and politics of the Catholic Committee, of which the people of Blefescu know almost nothing. They appeared much surprised and pleased at the information. Read the card of the Catholics and Stokes' letter. The Committee agree that the North is not yet ripe to follow them, but that no party could be raised directly to oppose them. Time and discussion the only things wanting to forward what is advancing rapidly. Agreed to the resolutions unanimously. Resolved to transmit a copy to Tandy, and request his and his fellow citizens' co-operation, from which great benefit is expected to result to the cause, by reflecting back credit on the United Irishmen of Blefescu. Settled the mode of carrying the business through the club at large, on Tuesday next. McTier to be in the chair; Sinclair to move the resolutions; Simms to second him; Neilson to move their printing; and P. P. and I to state the sentiments of the people of Dublin. Copies to be transmitted, with the usual injunction against newspaper publication, to Waterford, Leitrim, Roscommon, and McCormick, in Dublin. A civil letter to be written by P. P. or myself, to Tandy, enclosing the resolutions. The Secret Committee all steady, sensible, clear men, and, as I judge, extremely well adapted for serious business. Macabe asked us for Monday, Neilson for Tuesday, both which we did most graciously accept. Home at 10. P. P. in the blue devils—thinks he is losing his faculties; glad he had any to lose.

October 15, Digges came in to supper. I had been lecturing P. P. on the state of his nerves, and the necessity of early hours; to which he agreed, and, as the first fruits of my advice and his reformation, sat up with Digges until 3 o'clock in the morning, being four hours after I had gone to bed.

October 16, *Sunday*. Breakfast, Digges, Jordan, and Macabe. Church—a vile sermon from Bristowe, (called Caiphas) against smuggling, &c. and about loyalty, and all that. P. P. in great sorrow and distress of mind; resolved to leave off smuggling, which is injurious to the fair trader.* Walked in the mall with Digges and P. P. The ladies, one and all, *speer* P. P. who is exceedingly fallen thereon, in his own good opinion. Put the plump question to Digges, relative to the possibility of Ireland's existence, independent of England. His opinion decidedly for independence. England would not risque a contest, the immediate consequence of which, would be the destruction of her funds. Ireland supplies her with what, in case of a war, she could not possibly do without, as seamen and provisions. France would most probably assist, from the pride of giving freedom to one kingdom more. So would all the enemies of England. Nothing to be done, until the religious sects here are united, and England engaged in a foreign war. If Ireland were free, and well governed, being that she is unincumbered with debt, she would, in arts, commerce, and manufactures, spring up like an air balloon, and leave England behind her, at an immense distance. There is no computing the rapidity with which she would rise. Digges promised to detail all this, and much more, on paper. Home. Dinner at William Sinclair, to meet Dr. Halliday, who could not come, being suddenly called out to attend a sick bishop. Much conversation about Foster's treatment of Macabe and Pearce. Sinclair in high wrath with Foster, of whom he told scurrilous anecdotes. The loom now in America, and a capital of 500,000 dollars subscribed to carry on the manufacture of linen; workmen, the great want in America, which this loom goes precisely to obviate. America improving, silently and unnoticed, in manufactures; instance, in coarse

* Lest some ingenious commentator should take this seriously, and charge Mr. Russell with smuggling, it is proper to notice that he was then an officer in the British army.

linens, from 14*d.* to 8*d.* of which, seven years since, there was a large export from Ireland, but which they now are able to supply themselves. Danger, therefore, by the aid of Pearce's various and inexhaustible invention, that they may proceed in like manner in other fabrics. Washington has adopted Pearce as his protegé, and declares him to be the first man in America. Great superiority of Ireland and John Foster, who can afford to fling away what America and Gen. Washington are glad to pick up. One and all of us damn the Government. Home. P. P. sober. Find a large packet by the mail, which we rip open in haste, and find 2,000 prospectus' of the United Irishmen, instead of the pamphlet. Sat down in a pet, and wrote a tart letter to Chambers; got up in a rage, cursed, stormed. P. P. very wise, quotes *Seneca, Boethius de Consolatione*, and many other good books; enforces the folly of anger in many shapes; I more and more enraged. Left the inn and went to sleep at Dr. McDonnell's. P. P. not quite honest; owes me now several shillings, and makes no movement towards payment; gave him a hint, on his observing how cheap Belfast was, and that he had not changed a guinea for some days, by assuring him that I had, and found it very expensive; hope this may do. Bed.

October 17. Breakfast, McDonnell, McAughtrey, Bryson, Digges, P. P. and I. Went to the inn; P. P. paid the bill, by which my anxiety as to my shillings is completely removed; believe I owe *him* now two or three, but shall not inquire. P. P. received a letter from C. O'Connor, an Irish *Papist;* very good sense in it for all that; read it to all persons when and where it did behove him. Walked out with Digges and P. P. to Macabe's, to dinner; the old set; nothing new under the sun. Came into town early; went to the theatre; saw a man in a white sheet on the stage, who called himself a Carmelite. P. P. whispered to me, with a very significant face, not to be too sure he was a Carmelite. Puzzled at this; turned round in a little time with my doubts to P. P.—P. P. asleep. N. B. A gentleman, indeed a nobleman, on the stage, in a white wig, vastly like a gentleman whom I had seen in the morning, walking the streets in a brown wig; one Mr. Atkins, a player. Quere, Was he a Lord or not? P. P. incapable of resolving my doubts. Came home before the play was half over; the parties appear-

ing all so miserable, that I could foresee no end to their woes. Saw a fine waistcoat on the man that said he was a Carmelite, through a tear in the sheet which he had wrapped about him; afraid after all that he was no Carmelite, and that P. P. was right in his caution. Home; whiskey punch with P. P. Bed early.

October 18. Breakfast; M'Donnell, McAughtrey Digges, called on us. Went to see the factory for sail-duck. Improvements on the warping machine. Dined with Neilson. Went, at 8, to the United Irishmen, McTier in the chair; twenty-eight members present; the club consists of thirty-six original members; six new ones proposed. William Sinclair moved the resolutions, which were adopted unanimously. Bryson very civil; resolved to print and issue an adequate number, but not to publish in newspapers. A copy enclosed in a letter from the secretary to be sent to J. N. Tandy, Richard M'Cormick, and Dr. M'Kenna. A committee of correspondence struck; the members are Sinclair, M'Tier, Hazlitt, Neilson, and R. Simms, secretary. Read C. O'Connor's letter with great pleasure and satisfaction. Campbell made a flighty objection to one paragraph, relating to a renunciation of certain tenets falsely attributed to the Roman Catholics; answered with great ability by Bryson. Campbell angry because he was wrong, as is always the case; his objection overruled. P. P. and I made several orations on the state of the Roman Catholics, and the readiness of the citizens of Dublin to co-operate with the United Irishmen. The intelligence received with great applause. Broke up at eleven; came home; resolved to go to the coterie; dressed; went with P. P. P. P. changed his mind, after a quarter of an hour's fluctuation in the lobby, and calling a council of waiters, at which the chambermaid assisted; *pleasant, but wrong;* came back again in something very like an ill humor. At the door, P. P. changed his mind again, and proposed to return to the coterie; refused him plump. P. P. severe thereupon; taxed me with many faults, one of which was giving advice; told P. P. I would do so no more. P. P. frightened; submitted. Went to bed with a resolution to attack him in my turn next morning. Could not sleep; a cat in the room; got up and turned her out; fell asleep at last.

October 19. Breakfast; M'Aughtrey, Digges, and Bryson. Digges took me out to ask my opinion of the United Irishmen. I told him I thought them men of spirit and decision, who seemed thoroughly in earnest. He said he thought so too. I asked him whether they any way resembled the Committees of America in 1775, and afterwards. He said, "Precisely." In Digges' opinion, one Southern, when moved, equals twenty Northerns, but very hard to move them.—Digges, Secretary to the Baltimore Committee, in Maryland, for some years. He appears to take very kindly to P. P. and me.—Went, at one, to the Selectmen. Agreed on the mode of corresponding with the Volunteers of Dublin. Five hundred of the resolutions of the United Irishmen to be printed on little paper, for distribution. Sinclair's idea that the citizens should every where precede the volunteers in adopting similar resolutions. Dined at Getty's; the old set. Went at eight to the Selectmen. Conversation as to the communication between the Belfast and Dublin volunteers. Agreed that the North was not yet prepared for any strong and direct attack on the Armagh Grand Jury. The Dublin people should not go farther in their answer than the Belfast men go in their declaration, as otherwise, they of Belfast would be in a dilemma between doing too much and too little. Agreed that all communications, now, and for some time to come, should be through the medium rather of clubs than volunteers, inasmuch as there are now many existing corps who might be influenced to oppose our present measures regarding the Catholics, but it would be impossible to raise a club differing in principles from the United Irish; besides, when the clubs are formed, the volunteers will follow of course. Armagh not ripe for a deputation of Roman Catholics from Dublin, but every exertion to be made to prepare them, by letters, newspapers, &c. Wm. Sinclair to write, as President of the Volunteer Committee of Correspondence, an official letter to Tandy, with an account of their proceedings, &c. which is to be accompanied by a letter from P. P. or me, containing such facts as may not be proper to mention in official correspondence. Home at 10; a rainy night. P. P. in the rain, very like King Lear in the storm; came home in the character of the banished Kent. *Mem.* P. P. got up very early in the morning, this day, and wrote three letters before I was up; on which

proof of the amendment of his life, I remitted the attack which I had intended to make upon him.

October 20. Breakfast, nobody; sad rainy day! McAughtrey called and sat awhile. Digges came in and staid dinner. Wrote out queries for him, which he answered, relative to emigration. Conversation till 10 at night; extremely amusing, but no material business. Went to bed ill with a sore throat—very bad all night.

October 21. Breakfast in bed, Digges, McAughtrey, and P. P. Did not get up till one o'clock. Met Tom Cleghorn, to my great surprise, fossilizing in McDonnell's dining room. Dressed; went in a chaise to Joy's, with Digges and P. P. An amazing battle after dinner on the Catholic question. For the Peep-of-day-boys, MM. Joy, Williamson, and A. Stewart; for the Defenders, P. P. and myself. The Defenders victorious, after a hard battle. All the arguments on the other side, commonplace, vague, and indefinite, *(vide my pamphlet, in which I call my adversary Goose.)* P. P. very clever; led Williamson into a palpable absurdity, by a string of artful questions. Williamson afraid of a bug-a-boo. Joy an artful and troublesome antagonist. Stewart half way between both parties. The Peep-of-day-boys ashamed of their own positions. Agree to the justice of liberating the Catholics, but boggle at the expediency. Damned nonsense. P. P. eloquent! ready to fight Williamson. The chaise—Digges of opinion that P. P. and I were victorious. *Mem.* All arguments over a bottle foolish. Home; went to bed early. P. P. at the card club; came home at two, and awaked me. P. P. perfectly polite; went to sleep at last.

October 22. Breakfast, nobody; my sore throat gone. Walked with P. P. and Jordan; Jordan a very clever young man. Got one of my pamphlets* from Simms; gave it to William Sinclair, another to Jordan, another to McAughtrey. Dressed—dinner at Mr. Ferguson's; Bruce, Dr. Halliday, Waddel Cunningham, &c.; Halliday pleasant. Home early; no letters. P. P. in bed before me, for the first time. *Mem.* Met the man who said on the stage he was a Carmelite, walking the streets with a woman holding him by the arm; the woman painted up to the eyes; convinced, at last, that he was no Carmelite; made my

* Argument in behalf of the Catholics.

apologies to P. P. who triumphed thereon. Read O'Connor's letter to Sinclair.

October 23, *Sunday.* Breakfast with Digges—Neilson came in. Long account of the proceedings of the delegates at Belfast on the question between Flood and Grattan. Spirit of Belfast in 1783, when convention was sitting. Artillery prepared with round and grape shot, vast quantities of ball cartridges, and at least 500 men ready to march from Belfast, which they expected hourly. The same spirit almost universal in the North, all balked by the cowardice or wisdom of the representatives of Ireland in convention. Dinner at A. Stewart's, with a parcel of squires of county Down. Fox hunting, hare hunting, buck hunting, and farming. No bugs in the northern potatoes; not even known by name, &c. A farm at a smart rent always better cultivated than one at a low rent; *probable enough.* Went at nine to the Washington club. Argument between Bunting and Boyd, of Ballicastle. Boyd pleasant. Persuaded myself and P. P. that we were hungry. Went to the Donegal Arms and supped on lobsters. Drunk. Very ill natured to P. P. P. P. patient.—*Mem. To do so no more.* Went to bed. Gulled P. P. with nonsense. Fell asleep.

October 24. Wakened very sick. Rose at nine. Breakfast at Wm. Sinclair's, per engagement; could not eat. Mrs. Sinclair nursed me with French drams, &c. Rode out with P. P. and Sinclair to see his bleach green. A noble concern; extensive machinery. Sinclair's improvements laughed at by his neighbors, who said he was mad. The first man who introduced American potash; followed only by three or four, but creeping on. The rest use barilla. Almost all the work now done by machinery; done thirty years ago by hand, and all improvement regularly resisted by the people. Mr. Sinclair, sen. often obliged to hire one, and sometimes two companies of the garrison, to execute what is now done by one mill. Great command of water, which is omnipotent in the linen. Three falls, of twenty-one feet each, in ten acres, and ten more in the glen, if necessary. A most romantic and beautiful country. Saw from the top of one mountain, Loch Neagh, Strangford Loch, and the Loch of Belfast, with the Cave Hill, Mourne, &c. &c. Sinclair a man of very superior understanding. Anecdotes of the linen trade. Nearly independent of England. Seven years ago application made to Parliament for a bounty of 1*4d.* per yard; resisted by

England; carried at last. Before the bounty, not more than thirty or forty pieces shipped direct for the West Indies from Belfast; now, always 50, 60, and 70 boxes in every ship. England threatened then to take off the duty on foreign linens, but did not venture it. Ireland able to beat any foreign linens for quality and cheapness, as appears by the American market, which gives no preference by duties, and is supplied entirely by Ireland. If England were disposed, she might, for a time, check the trade of Ireland in linens; but she would soon give up that system for her own sake, because she could not be supplied elsewhere so good and cheap. German linens preferred, out of spite, by some families in England, particularly by the royal family. All the King's and Queen's linen, German, and, of course, all their retainers. Sinclair, for experiment, made up linens after the German mode, and sent it to the house in London, which served the King, &c.; worn for two years, and much admired; ten per cent. cheaper, and 20 per cent. better than the German linen. Great orders for Irish German linen, which he refused to execute. All but the royal family content to take it as mere Irish. *God save great George, our King!* Home, after a delightful ride, quite well. Admirable essay from Digges. Went to dinner at Simms'; old set; tactics after dinner. Selectmen in the evening. Read a letter, &c. from Tandy. Gave a list of names to send copies of the resolutions. Home at ten.

October 25. Went for Digges to breakfast. Walked out about the town. Joy's! paid my fees to the Northern Whig club, and signed the declaration. P. P. at home in the horrors; thinks himself sick generally; smoke the true cause, but no matter. Dinner at M'Tiers; Waddel Cunningham, Holmes, Dr. Bruce, &c. A furious battle, which lasted two hours, on the Catholic question; as usual, neither party convinced. Teized with the liberality of people agreeing in the principle, but doubting as to the expediency. Bruce an intolerant high priest; argued sometimes strongly, sometimes unfairly; embarrassed the question by distinctions, and mixing things in their nature separate. We brought him, at last, to state his definite objection to the immediate emancipation of the Roman Catholics. His ideas are, 1st. Danger to true religion, inasmuch as the Roman Catholics would, if emancipated, establish an *inquisition*. 2d. Danger to property by reviving the Court of Claims, and

admitting any evidence to substantiate Catholic titles. 3d. Danger, generally, of throwing the power into their hands, which would make this a Catholic government, incapable of enjoying or extending liberty. Many other wild notions, which he afterwards gave up, but these three he repeated again and again, as his creed. Almost all the company of his opinion, excepting P. P., who made desperate battle, M'Tier, Getty and me; against us, Bruce, Cunningham, Grey, Holmes, Bunting, H. Joy. Furguson dubitante *and cæteri*, all protesting their liberality and good wishes to the Roman Catholics. *Damned stuff.* Bruce declared that thirty-nine out of forty Protestants would be found, whenever the question came forward, to be adverse to the liberation of the Roman Catholics, as was the case when Lord Charlemont put in his veto, and seemed pleased with the idea. It may be he was right, but God is above all. Sad nonsense about scavengers becoming members of Parliament, and great asperity against the new fangled doctrine of the Rights of Man. Broke up rather ill disposed towards each other. More and more convinced of the absurdity of arguing over wine. Went to the United Irish club. Ballotted in five men, amongst whom were Maclaine and Getty; rejected one. Went to the coterie. Jordan pleasant, as usual. Home at two. Bed.

October 26. Breakfast, Digges and Jordon. *Chat.* Jordan enraged at Bruce's theory. Walked out; saw the glass-house, foundry, &c. Dinner at Sinclair's; M'Tier, M'Aughtrey, P. P. and I. Bruce's theory again discussed. Sinclair much surprised at it. Catholic question. Assertion of Bruce relative to their behavior at Convention; denied by P. P., who threatens to write a book. Promised to send Sinclair the debates of the Convention, with notes. M'Tier asked what could we do against England. Sinclair hot. He and P. P. agree that the army in Ireland would be annihilated, and could not be replaced. Sinclair defies the power of England as to our trade; admits that she could check it for a time, but that, after the revolution, it would spring up with inconceivable rapidity, Ireland being unincumbered with debt. (Singular that his opinion agrees with Digges, even in the very words.) My own mind quite made up. Sinclair bleaches annually 10,000 pieces of linen. P. P. of opinion that the weakness of England should be looked to, as

well as that of Ireland; also, Mr. Digges, who says, "the first shot fired by England against this country, down go her stocks." Home early. P. P. pretty well on, but not quite gone. Bed.

October 27. Rise for the purpose of packing. Assisted by Digges, and very much impeded by P. P. who has not yet slept off his wine, and is, besides, for certain reasons, much puzzled. Jordan and McDonnell stay with us. At 1 o'clock, leave Belfast with heavy hearts, having first taken leave of every body on the road. McDonnell sees us four miles on the road.

Hic finis longæ chartæque, viæque,—as the divine Flaccus hath it.

The poor ambassadors are reduced to the rank of private individuals—*Sic transit gloria mundi*—

P. P. and J. HUTTON.

[*N. B. The Journals of November and December,* 1791, *are lost. The following fragment and letters are all that we have recovered of that period.*]

Nov. 7, 1791. Dinner at Doyle's. Eighteen present, Tandy, Jones, Drennan, Pollock, McKenna, MacNevin, McCormick, P. P. and Mr. Hutton, &c. All quiet at first. Tandy says that Grattan is certainly with us; also, the Duke of Leinster almost as certain. Read the declaration of the Catholic Society for constitutional information; very much admired, and justly. Jones begins to broach opinions; thinks the question involved and complicated unnecessarily, by mixing the question of reform with the Catholic business; get the last first, and the other will follow of course. Jones opposed by Mr. Hutton, on the ground that the mere right of the Catholics is not supported by sufficient strength to induce the Protestants to come forward, and, therefore, a common interest must call forth common exertions. If a compact be once established between the parties, it is of little import which part of the question comes first; but absolutely necessary to hold out, on the one hand, reform to the Protestants, and, on the other, emancipation to the Catholics, by which the views and interests of both are inseparably consolidated and blended. Mr. Hutton very ingenious and persuasive on the occasion, and uses sundry other good arguments. Followed by Neilson, on the ground of past experience, that nothing can be done by disunited parties, and no secure bond of union but com-

mon interest; instances the convention, and Concludes with many compliments to Mr. Hutton. Neilson followed by Owen Roe, (Pollock) who agrees in all that is laid down, and further states, that it is nonsense to pretend to obviate opposition on the part of Government, by holding forth the Catholic question, and keeping back that of reform; because they will immediately see their inseparable connection. The business wound up by Tandy, who coincides completely with Mr. Hutton, Neilson, and Owen Roe, to the great mortification of Jones, who can do nothing but exclaim, "Three millions! three millions!" Angry with P. P. who had said nothing. P. P. angry thereupon, but cooled by a bucketfull of good advice, which was thrown upon his wrath by Neilson. All the Catholics with us to a man, except Dr. Mac Nevin, who has some doubts. Mr. Hutton agrees to breakfast, on Wednesday, with said Doctor. Many civilities on both sides. Good story of Major and Secretary Hobart being handcuffed in St. Ann's watch-house. Go to an ale-house with Neilson, P. P. and Belfast men. One, just come from England, says Dr. Priestley is delighted with the idea of union, and has begged six copies of a celebrated pamphlet, (*the N. Whig.*) Home at half past eleven; bed. *Mem.* Left P. P. getting very drunk, after all his fine resolutions. Bad! bad!

Letter to Mrs. Tone, from Dublin, about the Summer of 1791.

Dear Love: I have nothing more to say, than that affairs are going on here swimmingly. We have got up a club of United Irishmen in Dublin, similar to that in Belfast, who have adopted our resolutions, with a short preface. We have pretty well secured all Connaught, and are fighting out the other two provinces. It is wonderful with what zeal, spirit, activity, and secrecy, all things are conducted. I have dined with divers Papists, and, in particular, with Lord Dunsany, who lately reformed, but is still a good Catholic in his heart. He begged the honor of my acquaintance, and I shall call on him to-morrow. My book is running like wildfire. The castle has got hold of the story, but very imperfectly. All they know is, that the disorder broke out in Belfast, and was carried there by one Toole, or Toomey, or some such name, a lawyer. I suppose they will endeavor to find out this Mr. Toole, or Toomey, or whatever his name is.

George Ponsonby is, on a sudden, grown vastly civil and attentive, ... and so much for politics. I learn, and I am sorry, that you have got a return of the pain in your head. Willy is growing too strong for you, and, therefore, I beg you may wean him immediately. He is old enough now, and you must not injure your own health, for that little monkey,* especially when you know how precious your health is to me.

My stay in town is of such infinite consequence, that I am sure you would not wish me to quit, whilst things are in their present train. If you can get Mary down, I shall be very happy: I leave it to you, as I am with my head, hands, and heart, so full of business, that I have scarcely time to subscribe myself, yours, &c. T. W. T.

Letter to Mrs. Tone, from Belfast, October 20, 1791.

My dearest Life and Soul: I wrote a few posts since, just to let you know that I was alive and well. I did not tell you any news, as I journalize every thing, and promise myself great pleasure from reading my papers over with you. I have christened Russell by the name of P. P., Clerk of this Parish, and he makes a very conspicuous figure in my memoirs. If you do not know who P. P. was, the joke will be lost on you. I find the people here extremely civil; I have dined out every day since I came here, and have now more engagements than I can possibly fulfil. I did hope to get away on Sunday, but I fear I shall not be able to move before Thursday. You cannot conceive how much this short absence has endeared you to me. You think it is better for us to be always together, but I am sure, from my own experience, you are wrong: for I cannot leave you now, though but for one week, that I do not feel my heart cling to you and our dear little ones. I have no more to say, but to desire my love to all of you, and am, dearest love, ever yours. If you have not written before this, you need not write; I wish, however, I had one letter from you. T. W. TONE.

P. S. Dear Matty: As to any thing your wise husband may have said of me, I neither desire to know, nor do I care. It is sufficient, generally, "*I had a friend.*" I am at present composing a pretty moral treatise on temperance, and will dedicate it to myself, for I dont know who is likely to profit so much by it.

*Good words! Papa.—Note of the Editor.

Pray give my love to your virgin daughter and infant progeny. "God bless every body." Yours, till death, P. P.

P. S. P. P. has been scribbling his bit of nonsense. He is a great fool, and I have much trouble to manage him. I assure you that you will be much amused by his exploits in my journal, which is a thousand times wittier than Swift's, as in justice it ought: for it is written for the amusement of one a thousand times more amiable than Stella. I conclude in the words of my friend P. P. God bless every body.

P. S. P. P. calls me "his friend Mr. John Hutton;" but God knows the heart. He is writing a journal, but mine is worth fifty of it.

Journals of 1792.

Note of the Editor.—The journals of January, February, March, April, May, and June, 1792, are lost. From the month of July, we possess the series of those journals to the 20th of November.

July 4, 1792. Waited on Mr. F. by his desire, who told me that Mr. Conolly was just returned from England, and that he was much better affected than they had expected, but some of Fitzgibbon's people had been endeavoring to frighten him with Catholic insurrections, &c. That he was decidedly against the conduct of the House of Commons, in rejecting the petition, because, if the principles on which they justified that measure were right, they should not have granted the Catholics any thing, not even S. Hercules Langrishe's bill. Mr. F. then said, that Mr. Conolly was a man who liked attentions, and therefore he would avise Byrne and Keogh, and some Kildare gentlemen, (I mentioned Fitzgerald) to wait on him with the declaration, and any other papers; to prefer their earnest desire for the approbation and support of so very respectable a character, and express their apprehensions, lest pains might be taken to prejudice his mind against them; that, therefore, they took the first opportunity, after his return to the kingdom, to wait on him with a fair statement of their conduct and sentiments; that if any part of the declaration (particularly with regard to property) could be made stronger, they were willing to adopt it; and, finally, to profess their unalterable attachment to the peace and good order and tranquillity of the country, on which Mr. Conolly very much relies. On leaving Mr. F. I met Mr. Grattan, who concurred exactly with him. It was agreed, that Messrs. Byrne, Keogh, and Fitzgerald, should go to Castleton.

Notes, letters, &c. of 1792. *Journal of the Proceedings of Mr. John Hutton on his second embassy to Belfast; also his dealings with the Catholics, including his combinations with sundry dissenting Republicans, and his plan for a general system of Irish Jacobins.*

Monday, July 9th, 1792. Set out posting with the Keeper of the College Lions for Belfast, (*Whitley Stokes*)—Breakfast at the Man of War; missed poor P. P. sadly. The Keeper dull. Proposed picquet; agreed to; played very fair; doubt that the Keeper is a black-leg. Nothing material until Dundalk; scored ten there for a man leading a pig in a string. Ditto at Loughbrickland; game at Banbridge; the Keeper 55, Mr. Hutton 95. Sleep at Banbridge.

10th. Set off early; see a cat before we come to the bridge; game.—The Keeper mortified. Very pretty amusement for a statesman and a philosopher. O Lord! O Lord!—On an average, about a cat and one-seventh of a cat per mile on the great northern road. Make no other remark of any importance or use on the journey.—Arrive at Belfast at one o'clock; learn that the first company is at exercise, and dine upon Waddel Cunningham. Unpack in a hurry, and dress in regimentals; run off to the field, and leave the Keeper to fag. Meet everybody. Cunningham very civil; dine in the tent, at the right hand of the Captain. After dinner the whole company turn out and dance on the field; *vastly French;* march into town in the evening, "*all with magnanimity and benevolence.*" Sup with Neilson and the old set; very much tired after my journey. Bed at one o'clock.

11th. Rise with great headache; stupid as a mill-horse; call on Sinclair; read over the address. Agree to meet him and Dr. White,* with whom I learn I am appointed committee man, the next morning, at breakfast, and settle it finally. Call on the unfortunate Keeper, whom I have not seen, Lord knows when; find that he gets on very well without me. Bring him to the Hypocrite and introduce him; the Hypocrite as gentle as ever; asks us to dine next day; agree thereto. All go to the Harper's at one; poor enough; ten performers; seven execrable, three good, one of

* Now of Baltimore.

them. Fanning, far the best. No new musical discovery; believe all the good Irish airs are already written. The company tired. See the Blue Company march out to exercise; very fine front rank. Meet the Irish Slave, who is rejoiced to see me. Dine with Neilson and the old set; the Keeper comes late; conversation flat enough. More and more miss poor P. P. Bring the Keeper to the coterie. See an apparition of Jordan, who is in London; find, on speaking Latin to the said apparition, that it is Jordan himself; heartily glad to see him. Sup at the coterie; sup again at Neilson; the old set. Bed late. All this day dull as a post; no P. P. Sad! sad!

12th. Rise again with headache, resulting from late hours. Go out to the Draper at Lilliput. Meet Dr. White; settle the address; many alterations. Return to town again; do not know what to do; lounge to the Harper's; meet Vesey Knox, who shows me a letter from John, with an account of their victory over the bloody tyrant. Dinner at the Hypocrite's, Joy, Williamson, Bryson, A. Stewart, Renny Maxwell, the Keeper, &c. Williamson remembers the tossing he got from P. P. last October; calls P. P. the Socratic. Williamson clever, and says he is rather more a friend to the Catholics than he was; believe he is one of the time to time party. Go off at nine to meet the delegates at the Donegal Arms; fifteen present, M'Tier in the chair. Read the address from the committee; Waddel Cunningham opposes it, without assigning any reason. Neilson at him. At last out it comes. The coming down of Mr. Hutton has given great alarm, especially as he has brought with him some man from the college, whom no one knows. The company all laugh; Cunningham goes off in a pet. The address read, paragraph by paragraph, and approved unanimously, except that part which relates to the Catholics, which had H. Joy's single negative. Address to the National Assembly read and approvedin like manner. Broke up. Home. Bed as usual at half past one. Damned bad hours!

13th. Rise again with a headache. Go to the Donegal Arms. No Catholics by the mail; very odd. Saw them take places for last night. Will they come or not? No letters. The jacobin party up here; Lafayette down; think they are all wrong. Belfast not half so pleasant this time as the last. Politics just as good or better; every thing else worse. Grievous

want of P. P.; the Keeper not equal to him. By the bye, the Hypocrite made the Keeper drunk last night. Fine doings. Miss that unfortunate Digges. Weather bad. Afraid for to-morrow every way; generally in low spirits. Hear that the Tribune, with his suite, is arrived; go to the Donegal Arms and say *O* to him, (vide *Robinson Crusoe.*) The Harper's again. *Strum strum* and be hanged. Hear that several Catholics have been seen; run to try; find Magog, Weldon, and others, to a large amount. The hair of Dr. Haliday's wig miraculously grows grey with fear of the Catholics. Several comets appear in the market place. Walk the Catholics about to show them the lions. See a figure of Commerce at the insurance office; the Catholics mistake it for an image, and kneel down, take out their beads, and say their prayers before it; leave them at the Exchange, and go to dinner with Simms. The old set. Drink nothing. Go at seven to meet the jacobins. The time to time people say with great gravity that Mr. Hutton is come to force seditious papers down their throats. Mr. Hutton a man of great consequence, as it seems. The Keeper, who is in the plot, a cunning hand; all day out picking up clay, &c. the better to conceal his designs, but Waddel and Joy too knowing to be had in that manner. Mr. Hutton almost angry at all this nonsense, and very sorry that any man, woman, or child, in Belfast, should listen to such trash. Expect a sharp opposition to-morrow. Some of the country corps no better than Peep-of-day-boys. Antrim folks, good; Down, bad. Dress, and go to Gautherot's benefit; called out. Gog, but no M'Donnell! not like his namesake, who was "*worthy to be a rebel.*" Good news from Munster: Gog preaching for three days to six bishops, who are at last converted; so the returns will go on—*Ca ira!* Return to the concert. Williamson very pleasant; tells good stories of Lord Moira, and wants me to go there; calls Mrs. O'Hara Caroline of Litchfield, &c. Mr. Hutton envious, and endeavors to outshine, but can't. Goes off, and falls upon A. Stewart, whom he attacks upon the Catholic question, and mauls without remorse. Stewart very shallow. The Draper tells Mr. Hutton that great exertions are making to impress people with the idea that he is going to ram something down their throats. Stuff, stuff! The Draper moderate; thinks it will be a work of time, &c. but still the cause gains ground daily. All this not very encouraging. Come home in not

the most amiable temper. Get my belt, &c. for the review to-morrow. Generally sulky. Want P. P. in order to advise him; just in a humor to give advice. Write a letter about the Catholic committee, signed X. Y. for the Northern Star. Dull as a post, but it cannot be helped. The Keeper dines this day in the country with the Hypocrite, and others; suppose he will make a beast of himself again. Bed. A plot! a plot! Neilson comes to my bedside at one o'clock, with orders to prepare for battle in the morning. Passing by a room in the inn, he heard Cunningham's voice very loud; the door being half open, he went in and found, to his utter astonishment, delegates from the country corps, with Waddel haranguing against the Catholics, and talking of some sedition intended to be broached the next day. Waddel taken all aback by this apparition of Neilson. Neilson abuses him, and reads the papers; the company breaks up without coming to any determination, but Neilson expects hot work in the morning. Waddel a ——. Sleep at last, about two.

14*th July, era of the French Revolution!* Knocked up early by Neilson; get on my regimentals, and go breakfast with the Catholics. M'Kenna arrived. Drums beating, colors flying, and all the honors of war. Brigade formed, and march off by ten; 700 men, and make a tolerable appearance. First and second Belfast companies far the best in all particulars: Green company 102; Blue 90. Ride the Draper's mare. The review tolerably well. Some companies filled by little squads of six or eight men, who come in of their own motion, without officers. A council of war held in a potato field, adjacent to the review ground. Present, the Draper in the chair, the Tribune, his brother George, Dr. Crawford, of Lisburn, Rev. Mr. Craig, Dr. M'Kenna, and Mr. Hutton: all fools except the first and last. Crawford and Tandy frightened out of their wits. We are undone; shall be defeated; all the country corps decidedly against us, from the report of some seditious paper, (the old story;) better to adopt something moderate, that shall include all parties; danger of disunion; risque of credit if we should even succeed by a small majority, which is the best that can be hoped; the country folks afraid; da capo, &c. M'Kenna very absurd; takes upon him the man of influence; says the Catholics are timid, and a repulse here would be fatal, and success of little consequence, as a declaration in favor of the Catholics was now useless, unless fol-

lowed up by some strong step. Mr. Hutton at last breaks silence; contradicts M'Kenna plump, as to the use of a declaration, in which the Draper concurs; examines the question in three lights, as being carried by a small majority, or lost, or not proposed. In the first case, if we succeed by a small majority, it is still success and a majority, which is better than a defeat. In the second, if it be lost, let it go; let us know the worst, and not be afraid to look the question in the face, nor delude ourselves and the Catholics with the idea of support, where no support is to be found. As to the third idea, which seemed to prevail most in the council, of not proposing the address, that was, of all possible measures, the worst; it carried in it all the evils of the other two, and many more; it was cowardly and foolish, more ruinous than the worst defeat: for those men who had already spread so many lies about the address, would, if it was now kept back, utter a thousand more, and say it was so infamous that no man could be found hardy enough to propose it to the meeting; that, in the Catholic question, not to advance was to recede, and if, after the strong measures of the last nine months, we were now to blink it, it would, at once, utterly destroy all hopes or prospect of union: Finally, it was more consonant to the spirit and decision of the Draper's character, to come fairly forward and let us see our friends and our enemies. Unanimity was a good thing in itself, but much more essentially so, as it was a means of promoting good principles; if, however, the principle must be renounced, to procure unanimity, it was not worth buying at that price. Mr. Hutton, likewise, said, that he did not see the question in so desperate a light; he would hope it might be carried, even by a large majority, but, in all events, whether carried or not, he entreated the Draper to move it boldly, and leave the event to Providence. The Draper agrees; the other members shrug up their shoulders, depart, and the council breaks up. The Draper and Mr. Hutton walk about the field, every man discouraging them, but all wont do. Both satisfied that half measures are no measures, and determined to hazard the event, let the worst come. The Draper a fine resolute fellow. Mr. Hutton says nothing of the energy, spirit, and decision of his own character, especially when contrasted with the caution and *moderation* of the Lisburn men, and the bladdering stuff of M'Kenna. Moderation—nonsense! March into town at three. Meet Has-

lit and Neilson: take the word "Catholic" out, and put in the word "Irishmen" of every religious denomination. Procession. Meeting at the Linen Hall, astonishing full. Question moved by the Draper. Before the debate goes on five minutes, satisfied that we have it hollow; the Lisburn men, and our good advisers in the field all mistaken. More and more satisfied that their *moderation* is nonsense and stuff. *Carry the question* with about five dissenting voices, among whom are Joy and Waddel Cunningham. All hollow. Could have carried any thing. The business now fairly settled in Belfast and the neighborhood. Huzza! Huzza! Dinner at the Donegal Arms. Every body as happy as a king, but Waddel, who looks like the Devil himself! Huzza! God bless every body! Stanislas Augustus, George Washington: *Beau-jour*. Who would have thought it this morning? Huzza! Generally drunk.—Broke my glass thumping the table. Home, God knows how or when. Huzza! God bless every body again, generally.—Bed, with three times three. Sleep at last.

15*th, Sunday*. Rise and breakfast with the Hypocrite and the Keeper, who are both outrageously rejoiced at the events of yesterday. After breakfast take a long walk with Gog, who tells me that Lynch has been ripping up the old business of my appointment, and thinks that it would be better, if a Protestant were not to interfere in their business. *That is wise!* Gog thinks that McKenna, whom he hates worse than hell, is at the bottom of all this. Not unlikely, but *I don't care*. (*See Tommy and Harry*, in the Spelling Book.) He likewise tells me of an odd manœuvre of the Tribune and McKenna, endeavoring yesterday to get him and the Catholics to express something of a wish that their affairs should not be introduced so as to risque disturbing the harmony of the meeting, or words to that effect, which he and the Catholics did very properly refuse to do, saying they could not dictate to any men; but their wish was, that the question should be fairly tried, and if it was lost, let it be lost. Precisely Mr. Hutton's idea at the council of war, which more and more proves the great spirit, integrity, and understanding, of that truly respectable gentleman. Gog takes great pains to turn Mr. Hutton's mind against McKenna; very unnecessary, for Mr. Hutton sees the characters of both the parties already, and will not much believe what either says of the other, without

collateral proof. Gog jealous of every body, even of Magog. Leave him and go to dinner at Lilliput with the Draper. Conversation all upon banking. Blind man's buff in the evening. Break my knee against a chair like a jackanapes. Drowned in the rain coming home at one in the morning, as usual. Fine doings. The Keeper, of the company. Bed.

16th. Rise and go to breakfast with Will Simms at the Grove; all the Catholics from Dublin there. Council of war in the garden, Gog, Robert Simms, and Mr. Hutton. Gog expounds the plan of organizing the Catholic body. Mr. Hutton takes the opportunity to press an idea started by P. P. several months back, for organizing, in a similar manner, the Dissenting interest. All agree that if that could be accomplished, the business would be done. Quere; How? Simms satisfied that we have already a great majority of the thinking men through the North with us; says, however, that if Government attack the Catholic Committee, under the new system in *two months*, the North, will not be *ready to support them*. Mr. Hutton explains, that we are not ready to call on any one yet for more than good wishes, and asks Simms, who is indeed a *Tanner*, and shall for the future be so called, what he thinks of the next 14th of July. The Tanner looks extremely wise and significant. Gog, Mr. Hutton, and he, worship each other, and *sign an article with their blood; flourish their hands three times in a most graceful manner*, (see Goldsmith's Citizen of the World,) and march off into town. *Ho, but they are indeed most agreeable creatures.* (Do.) Lounge till near dinner. Go to the Donegal Arms, and meet all the Catholics. M'Kenna comes in, and confesses that his behavior at the council of war on the 14th was indefensible, and that he is sorry, &c. Frivolous in the extreme. Mr. Hutton takes the opportunity to state his reasons for relating the conversation in the field, and appeals to Mr. Lube whether he had not acted fair and honorable? Mr. Lube compliments him, and M'Kenna declares his satisfaction and conviction that Mr. Hutton would be incapable of acting otherwise. Short reckonings make long friends. All fair! Gog and Mr. Hutton go down stairs and meet a certain set of the Belfast men. State the new plan of organization. All the Belfast men laud it. A crowd comes in and breaks off the discourse. Dinner; M'Tier in the chair. Checquered at the head of the table, a Dissenter

and a Catholic. Delightful! The four flags, America, France, Poland, Ireland, but *no England*. Bravo! Beau-jour! The Draper and I sit together at the foot of the table. Conversation regarding M'Kenna, who has acted very strangely. When he said in the council of war that he, as a Catholic, thought that a declaration was useless, unless Belfast was prepared to follow it up with something stronger, he impressed the Draper with an idea that he meant violent measures immediately. The Draper, therefore, bid him not calculate on immediate support from the North, but said, at the same time, that the progress of the cause was rapid, and must, finally, succeed. M'Kenna then, when arguing with the Catholics, to induce them to express their wish not to embarrass the question with their claims, mentioned, as an argument, that the Draper had told him in the field not to reckon upon any support from the North. This struck them all of a heap, knowing the Draper's decided character. By this it appears, that, by his nonsense, to call it no worse, he led the Draper into giving an opinion, *subject to a condition*, and then quoted that opinion, without mentioning the condition; by which he had like to throw a damp on the spirits of both parties, which might have had ugly consequences. All this very odd. Mr. Hutton explains the whole to the Draper, and puts him up to the real character of M'Kenna. The Draper very glad to be undeceived, as he had been a good deal struck with what he had said, supposing him to be a man of weight in his own party. Huzza! More toasts! Three times three. God bless every body. Go up stairs with the Catholics. Tell them the discourse with the Draper, which at once explains what had staggered them relative to expecting no support from Belfast. Neilson joins us, and we all swear an alliance. M'Kenna properly abused by all parties. Home. Bed. Determine to set off to-morrow and see P. P. Go to sleep thinking of my journey. Keeper gone to Scotland.

17th. Waked by Neilson, to see Gog, and other Catholics, before they set off. Go to the Inn. Much conversation about the Peep-of-day-boys and Defenders. My letter in the Northern Star approved of. Proposed by Neilson that the Catholics should go by Rathfriland, where the disburbances are, and meet some of the gentlemen of the neighborhood, in order to try if any thing can be done to restore peace. He offers, in that case, to go himself, and all parties request me to go too. Vexed to the

very soul at having my *expiration* to Dungannon all blown up. Rot it—sink it—damn it—must go—cannot possibly help it. Poor P. P.—Well, *'tis but in vain for soldiers to complain.* Agree to set off in half an hour to Rathfriland. Hope our journey may do some good, as the restoration of tranquillity is to us of the last importance. Console myself with this hope for the disappointment of not seeing P. P. but vexed damnably for all that. Set off in a very middling temper with Neilson and his wife. Stop at Hillsborough, and drink tea at a Mr. Henderson's; see his son, the author of Colin Mountain, in the Magazines. Set off, and arrive at 10 at a Mr. Lowry's, near Rathfriland. Received with great politeness and hospitality. Supper. Sit up late, as usual. Bed at half past one. Sad! sad!

18th. Rise, and set off with Neilson and young Lowry, to Rathfriland. In about an hour the Catholics arrive from Downpatrick. Meet Mr. Tighe, the Parson, Sam. Barber, the Dissenting Minister, Mr. Derry, the Priest, and about eighteen gentlemen of the neighborhood. Agreed on all hands that the Protestants were the aggressors. Several have been killed on both sides. Great offence taken at the Catholics marching about in military array, and firing shots at unseasonable times. The Catholics certainly wrong in that, and must, if possible, be stopt. The majority think that if that were accomplished, the disturbances would soon die away. Some bigots think that their arms should be taken from the Catholics. God forbid! besides, the thing is in its nature impossible. A magistrate present; a Captain Rowan tells one or two swinging lies. First, that information has been lodged with the Commissioners of the Revenue that a ship laden with arms was expected in a bay at the back of Mourne, and was to be escorted by a French frigate; and that these arms were intended for the Catholics. Also, that orders had been sent to every port in the kingdom, to seize and detain all arms imported, until further orders. Mr. Hutton breaks out in a rage. As to the French sending over a ship load of arms, all the world knows that, at this moment, they are in the last distress for arms themselves,* and buying them from England at any price. As to the other story, of the orders being sent to the ports, it was exactly like one of the tricks of our infamous

* Very correct in July, 1792.

Government, who are notoriously spreading the vilest calumnies and falsehoods, to exasperate the two sects against each other, that they may with the greater ease and security plunder both. The magistrate in a huff, and also Parson Tighe, brother to Edward Tighe, the Hack. Mr. Hutton changes the discourse back to the business of the meeting. Proposes that the Catholics shall agree to desist from parading in bodies and firing, and the Dissenters shall declare that they will maintain the peace of the country against all who shall transgress, without *distinction of party or religion*. An amendment proposed by Neilson, that this declaration should be made by the volunteers. The idea unanimously approved, and three officers then present, Captain A. Lowry, Captain Cowen, and Captain Barber, engage for their respective companies. A refractory priest, of the name of Fitzsimons, much blamed; the Catholics engage to have him removed. They, likewise, propose to have a pastoral letter from their bishop, and a circular one from the committee, to be read in every chapel, recommending peace and good order. All present highly satisfied with each other, except the magistrate, who looks glum. He was examined within these ten days at the Castle, on the subject of the riots: suppose he lied like the Devil. Earl Annesley much to blame in this business. No magistrate nearer than seven miles to Rathfriland. The Catholics always ready to make peace and keep it. Their adversaries uniformly the aggressors, by the admission of all present. Cannot, on the whole, learn that they do any thing worse than meet in large bodies, and fire powder; foolish, certainly, but not wicked. They break open no houses, nor ever begin an attack. The Protestants, however, extremely alarmed at their meetings, which, therefore, must, if possible, be suppressed. The Catholic clergy have almost totally lost their influence, since the people have got arms, so fatal to superstition and priestcraft is even the smallest degree of liberty. The Catholics and Mr. Hutton receive the thanks of the meeting for their public spirit in coming down on the occasion. All part on excellent terms. Mr. Hutton meditates attempting an excursion to Dungannon. Finds, on calculation, that P. P. would, most probably, be in Belfast about the time he could reach there. Gives up his scheme in a pet, and sets off with the Catholics for Newry, on his way to Dublin. Gog converts a bishop at Newry, another at Down Patrick. Arrive

at Dundalk Gog insufferably vain, and fishing for compliments, of which Mr. Hutton, at first, is rather sparing. Gog then praises Mr. Hutton, who relents thereupon, and lays it on in return pretty thick. Nothing too gross. A great deal of wine. Bed, as usual, between one and two. Bad! Bad! Bad!

19th. Set off early, and ride twelve miles on a lame hack; pleasant and respectable. Get on to Drogheda, and find the Newry stage just setting off for Dublin. Leave Gog converting another bishop, (the Catholic Primate) and drive off in the stage; no adventures; arrive in town at six in the evening. *Hic finis longæ chartæque, viæque.*—Hor.

Addenda. Mr. Hutton, on several occasions, pressed his friends the Jacobins to try and extend their clubs through the North. The Draper highly approves the plan, also Haslitt, also the Tanner and his brother. The Irish Slave swears he will begin his operations immediately, as we have talked enough, and it is time to begin to act. Mr. Hutton to write a scurrilous letter, for the said Slave, to John Foster.

N. B. The meeting on the 14th like the old German meetings in the woods. All the people sitting, and the armed warriors in a ring standing round. Fine effect of the unanimous aye of the Assembly when passing the address. Mr. Hutton affected so that the tears stood in his eyes; sentimental and pretty.

Dublin, July 21. Rode out with Gog to Grattan; entertained all the way with stories of Burke, who is become most odious to Gog. Burke certainly scheming with the Catholics, either to get more money, or raise his value in England with the Minister; got 2000 guineas for his expedition here last winter; foolish generosity in the Catholics, for he contrived to embroil them with every body. He wants now to come over here, where he can be of no possible use, and leave England, where, by the bye, he is of just as little. A puppy, or worse. We arrive at Grattan's, and tell him of the state of things in the North and in the South, which he approves. Talk of next winter. He apprehends Government will make a blow at the Catholics, by committing their chairman. Mr. Hutton of opinion that the whole body should rise and go with him in that event. Grattan advises to let him go, and immediately elect another. If he be committed, elect another, and so on, but never to recede. If the

House of Commons give words, let the General Committee do the same, and, if they be firm, the House will submit, because the one is an emanation from the people, the other not. Mr. Hutton asks for a committee to inquire, next session, into the state of the North, and the causes of the riots there. Grattan thinks it would do mischief, because the committee being, to a certainty, under the influence of the Castle, would misstate and garblefacts, and draw conclusions which even these facts could not warrant. Mr. Hutton says that is very hard, which Grattan admits; but says the reason is obvious, that we have *no Parliament in Ireland*. Grattan seems angry. Mr. Hutton reads him the intended address to the defenders, in which he suggests some alterations, but very much approves it generally. Say *O* to him and depart, having first promised to dine with him at Tinnahinch on Saturday next.

22d. Meet the Sub-committee; read the address, which is approved, with a clause promising protection from the General Committee to all peaceable Catholics. Think this a capital stroke, as it gives such a hold of the *bas peuple*, of whom there are in this country above 3,000,000. Meet Gog in the evening, who is in a peck of troubles. Expects Burke over in Cork every day, notwithstanding all that has been done to prevent his coming. Burke pretends that he is come on his private affairs. *Private fiddlesticks!* Gog in a rage; determined to thwart him on all occasions, and put him down with the Catholics, which he most richly deserves for the great impropriety of his conduct in never communicating a syllable of information whilst acting as agent in England, though perpetually applied to for that purpose, and also for his now coming over (if he does come) against the inclination of every one concerned. Burke by far the most impudent, *opiniatre* fellow that ever I knew. Gog wants to have a Robin not to invite him to their houses. Believe, if he comes, he will be rumped. Does he want another 2000 guineas?

23d. Wrote an X. Y. for the Northern Star; also a copy of a circular letter from the General Committee in answer to those conveying returns, recommending the permanency of the parochial electors, as a channel of communication, and the formation of committees of correspondence through each county, to consist of at least one gentleman for each barony. Also a sketch of a letter to Colonel Barry, on the present state of this country.

Dined with Tom Braughall and Gog. Read a very long prancing letter from Burke, filled with nonsense about the French Revolution, on which he is as mad as his father. The issue is, that the Catholics will meet no support from ministry in England, (who seem to be bullied by ministry here) in their next application to Parliament; they must, therefore, rely on their own force. And it seems pretty evident that England, if she will not interfere on their behalf, neither will she interfere against them; so that the Catholics, and the Protestant ascendency, are left to fight it out, *propriis aribus*, (*a la bonne heure.*) It should seem, that Government here have gone so far as to menace stopping the mutiny bills and supplies, if they are not allowed the sole management of the Catholic affairs. What will be the issue of all this?

24th. In committee. Read over Burke's letter again, and receive orders to prepare an answer thereto, and also a letter to the Hon. Mr. Browne. Gave the address to the Defenders to Byrne, with orders to print 1000 on large paper. Dined with Warren; home early. Wrote the letter to Burke, giving him his congé, regretting that ministry in England had, by adopting a determined neutrality, rendered further application to them useless, and of course deprived the Catholics of the powerful aid of his talents, and giving him a remote prospect that he might again be employed on some future emergency. All very civil and indefinite; not a bad letter. How will the Catholics like it? Wrote also to Mr. Browne. Spent a very pleasant evening at home. This day my appointment as Secretary to the Sub-committee, until the rising of Parliament, was confirmed unanimously by the General Committee, with a stipend for that time of £200.

25th. Sub-committee. Letter to Burke read, and objected to by Mr. Fitzgerald, as being too pointed a dismissal. Long conversation thereupon, and alterations made. The majority of the Sub-committee cowardly. Gog stout, but overruled. Letter to Mr. Browne agreed to. Dined at Warren's, and met Archdekin. Pleasant evening.

26th. Rode out to Grattan's, and dined there with Gog and Hardy. Little new; but the old ground beaten over again. Talking of the late Chief Baron Burgh, Grattan said that he fell in love with daisies on his march; he stopped to pick them up, and twist them into a garland, which he flung about him, and so entered the field of battle, half a hero and half an opera

dancer. Pretty! Captain Fitzgerald, Grattan's brother-in-law, a fine young fellow. Great deal of wine; Grattan keeps us to sup.

27th. Pleasant breakfast. Tell Grattan about Digges. Grattan eager to know him. Promise to send him Digges' letter on trade, &c. Ride into town with Gog. Dine with Warren and Archdekin again. No conversation. Wish to introduce Archdekin to Grattan on the subject of India, &c. &c.

28th, 29th, 30th. Sub-committee. Writing letters. Hear that Neilson is come to town. Dine with him at Braughall's. Nothing new. Introduced in form to the General Committee.

31st. Circular letter for the returns ready for signing. The Vintner comes in, and, after a long debate, refuses to sign. Cowardly! rascally! The fellow is worth £200,000. Gog in the horrors. Dine again with Warren and Archdekin. Sick all this day. Bed at nine o'clock.

1*st August. Merry be the first of August!* Breakfast in college. Boswell shows us a loom of his invention, for weaving fishing nets, which executes it completely with the fisherman's knot. He sent a sample to the Society for Encouraging the Arts in London, which had offered sixty guineas premium for such an invention. Several others put in their claim, but his was the only one which answered. He would, in consequence, have got the reward, only it was luckily discovered, in time to prevent it, that he was an Irishman, for which reason only they did refuse him. *Wise* and *liberal.* Boswell gives us a yard of his net which he wove before us. Puts me in mind of Macabe and Pearce. This is the Broughsham review: What will the volunteers do there? No returns from Wexford: What is the meaning of that?—Sub-committee. All abuse the Vintner for hanging back. Old cowardly slave! Mr. Everhard, of Sligo, comes in; gives a most melancholy account of the depression and insults under which the Catholics of that town labor; every Protestant rascal breaks their heads and windows for his amusement, and no grand jury will find their bills, nor petit jury convict them. The Catholic spirit quite broken. They do not even beat one another. Sad! sad! Busy all day folding papers, &c. for the Munster Bishops. Damn all Bishops! Gog not quite well on that point. Thinks them a good thing. Nonsense. Dine at home with Neilson and M'Cracken. Very pleasant. Rights of man. French revolution. No Bishops, &c. &c. &c.

August 2. Breakfast with Drennan and Neilson. Sub-committee. More papers. Gog not at all equal in steadiness to Magog, and as vain as the devil. Magog not a grain of a Papist, nor Warren; all the others so so enough. Meet J. Bramston just setting off for England. Dine at Sweetman's with a long set. All well. Half the county Down have returned their delegates. Bravo!

August 3. Sub-committee. Folding circular letters, &c. Wexford returns at last. Rent-roll of their delegates, £15,000 per annum. Bravo! This makes eight counties.

Journal of the proceedings of John Hutton, Esq. on his third journey to the North of Ireland; including his artful negotiations with the Peep-of-day-boys, and sundry Peers of the realm; also, his valorous entry into, and famous retreat out of the city of Rathfriland; interspersed with sundry delectable adventures and entertaining anecdotes.—Vive le Roi.

August 7, 1792. Set out posting on my expedition among the Peep-of-day-boys, with Gog and Neilson. Pleasant journey. Arrive in Drogheda, and dine. Settle with Neilson to meet us at Rathfriland. Go and drink tea with Mrs. Austin, an aunt of Gog's, who insists on our lodging with her. Promise to dine with Mr. Bird to-morrow. The 1st of last month kept here with additional solemnity: "*July the first in Oldbridge Town there was a grievous battle.*" Sick. Bed at eight o'clock.

8th. Go to the Coffee House. See the Derry Grand Jury resolutions, and the call of the county Wexford. In a horrible rage. Sit down and write a paper for the Northern Star, signed Vindex, abusing the resolutions, &c. Show Vindex to Gog, who is as pleased as Punch; tells me he has succeeded with the Bishops, and is to dine with them. Go to Bird's, and stay amongst a parcel of girls all the evening. Puppy. Home late.

9th. Walk out with Gog, and plan counter-resolutions for Derry: come home and write them. Gog takes them in his pocket to the Primate. Bird and Hamill; propose to them to offer a coalition to the Protestant ascendency, and that instead

of orange cockades, all parties should unite and wear green ones on the next first of July. A good scheme, though it is my own. They seem to think it could not be done. Let them try, however. Dinner with Dr. Reilly, the Primate, Plunket, Bishop of Meath, Reilly, Bishop of Clogher, Cruise, Bishop of Ardagh, M'Millan, Bishop of Down, Coyle, Bishop of Raphoe, M'Davit, Bishop of Derry, and Lennan, Bishop of Dromore, all very pleasant, sensible men. Dr. Plunket far the first: think he would be a credit to any situation. All well on the Catholic question. The matter as to the North now settled. More and more admire Dr. Plunket: glad to find the Catholic prelates men of such manners and understanding: *beau-jour!* All very civil to me, and complimentary about Vindex, and refuse to drink Lord Hillsborough. Bon. Home early. Bed.

10th. Travel with a third man, a Mr. Lynch, of Galway. Stupid. Newry. Introduced to Mr. O'Hanlon, Jr.: a clever young man. Go early to bed.

11th. Breakfast at O'Hanlon's. Hear that Mr. Barber is of opinion that we ought not to go to Rathfriland, and has desired some one to write us word so to Dublin. It is surmised that his reason is, lest we might be insulted by some of the bigots in that town. Cannot help it: what must be, must be, and we must go to Rathfriland. Buy powder and ball, and load our pistols, for fear of accidents. My balls too little; damn it! Afraid of Capt. Swan, who is a bloody Peep-of-day-boy: endeavor to make a pun on his name: something about goose, but it wont do. "*When as I sat in Babylon.*" Hear just now that if we go to Rathfriland we shall be houghed: "*pleasant, but wrong.*" What is to be done? This information we have from Mr. O'Neil, of Cabra: cowardly enough, but I dare say he heard it. Set off for Mr. O'Neil, of Bannvale, on our way for Rathfriland. Arrive at length at that flourishing seat of liberality and public virtue. "*I fear thee,* O Rathfriland, *lest that thy girls with spits, and boys with stones, in puny battle slay me.*" Stop at Murphy's Inn, six in number. all valiant. Get paper, and begin to write to Dr. Tighe, Mr. Barber, and Mr. A. Lowry. Stopped short by the intelligence that the Landlord will give us no accommodations! Hey! hey! The fellow absolutely refuses. He has cold beef and lamb chops, and will give us neither, but turns off on his heel. Damned fine. Well, Mr. Murphy! The dog is a Quaker. What is to be done.

now at past four? Agree to send Mr. O'Neil for Barber. He goes off. Send also for Mr. Linsey, about two miles off. Mr. Hutton offers to ride to Linen Hall for young Lowry. His horse wants a shoe. Damn it! Well. Too late now to get a messenger. Mr. O'Neil returns with news that Barber is out: all of a piece. A striking proof of the state of politics in this country, when a Landlord will not give accommodation for money to Catholics. Mr. Linsey has got a sore leg and cannot come. Get a Mr. Murphy at last, brother to our hospitable Landlord, and a decent man: explain the motives of our coming to him; and remind him of the conversation of 18th July last. He seems very much ashamed of the behavior of his brother, and, in some degree, apprehensive of our meeting some insult; which, however, he hopes may not happen. All stout. Some of us determined to make the boors of Rathfriland smoke for it, if they attack us, particularly McNally, who has ridden from Newry armed, merely to assist us in case of necessity; manly and decided! The gentlemen of the Town have learned, as we presume, that we are prepared, and therefore make no attempt to duck us, as they had lamented they did not do on our last visit. Leave Rathfriland in great force, the cavalry in the front. See about 150 Peep-of-day-boys exercising within a quarter of a mile of the town. Suppose if we had attempted to lie in the town, we should have had a battle. Arrive at Mr. O'Neil's and dine. Old gentry, and very hospitable and kind. Mr. O'Neil exceedingly hurt at being refused a dinner in Rathfriland, within sight of which he and his ancestors have lived for a century. Horrible thing, these religious discords, which are certainly fomented by the aristocrats of this country. Get off with great difficulty from O'Neil, and arrive at Newry about ten. Dismount with our four cases of pistols, very stout. "*Five pound for a Peep-of-day-boy.*" Huzza! Huzza! Generally glad that we are come back safe. Mug porter to a large amount. God bless every body. Bed.

12th. This is the Prince of Wales' birth day. Waited on by sundry Defenders to know if I will go to Dundalk and conduct their defence next assizes? That may not be. Ask me whom I would recommend; tell them Chamberlaine, Saurin, and Jebb. See Vindex in print; incorrect enough; made out a quotation on Captain Swan: "If he had been saucy, we would have made him

a rare bird on the earth, and very much like a black swan." Hit this off yesterday, as we were going into Rathfriland, when I was in a fright. Was I in a fright? The truth is, I was not, and yet I was not a jot sorry when it was bed time, and all well, "All fair," as Mr. Breslaw hath it. Dine at O'Hanlon's. After dinner ride to Rosstrevor along shore. Beautiful! Mourne, the sea, &c. Sit up very late and talk treason. Sad!

13th. Breakfast at Mr. Fagan's; several Catholics; feuds in Newry. Advise them all to peace and unanimity. Agree to drink porter with them on our return, whither we mean to go to the Marquis of Downshire. How will his Lordship receive us? Happy go lucky. Set off, and arrive at Hillsborough. Find that Lord Hillsborough is at Lord Annesley's, and will not be at home for two or three days. Agree to push on for Belfast, where we arrive and sup with Neilson and Simms. Neilson brings us home to lodge. Bed late.

14th. Walk out and see M'Cracken's new ship, the Hibernia. Hibernia has an English crown on her shield. We all roar at him. Dine at Neilson, with the old set. The county Down getting better every day on the Catholic question. Two of the new companies, commanded by Captains Cowan and Douglas, applied to be admitted in the Union regiment, commanded by Col. Sharman, and were refused, merely on the ground of their holding Peep-of-day-boy principles. *Bon.* Gog and Mr. Hutton called upon to give an account of the present state of Catholics. Mr. Hutton makes a long and accurate statement, which meets the unanimous approbation of all present. The Belfast men get warm with wine and patriotism. All stout; Gog valiant; also the Irish slave; also the Tanner; also Mr. Hutton. The Catholics offer to find soldiers, if Belfast will provide officers. All fair. Lurgan green as usual. Something will come out of all this. Agree to talk the matter over to-morrow, when we are all cool. Huzza! Generally drunk. *Vive la nation!* Damn the Empress of Russia! Success to the Polish arms, with three times three. Huzza! Generally very drunk. Bed. God knows how. To dine to-morrow with the Tanner. Huzza! Huz—.

15th. Waken drunk. Breakfast with Neilson, the Jacobin, &c. Write a letter on the Grand Jury of Derry, signed a Derry Farmer; also a paragraph to the same purpose; also another on the report of the submission of the Poles; (very bad news if it be

true.) Also another on the Derry Grand Jury. See Sinclair, and tell him of our expedition to Rathfriland. The Draper in a rage. More volunteer companies springing up like mushrooms, nobody knows why. All the Antrim corps well. Please God, we shall furnish them with something to think of. This country will never be well until the Catholics are educated at home, and their clergy elective. Now a good time, because France will not receive their students, and the Catholics are afraid of the revolution, &c. Dinner at the Tanner's; all well. The Rev. T. Birch, of *Botany Bay*, tells us that he is just returned from a meeting of eighteen Dissenting clergymen from different parts of Ulster, and had the pleasure to find them *all* well disposed to Catholic liberty; he has no doubt but the cause is spreading most rapidly. His neighborhood, which is very populous, completely converted; some attempts made to prejudice his flock against him for the part he took on the 14th July, failed plump. He offered, in a very full congregation, to argue the point after meeting, with any man who differed from him, and was answered that there was no occasion, as all were satisfied. He thinks, what I fear is true, that the Catholic clergymen are bad friends to liberty. The priest of Saintfield preached against United Irishmen, and exhorted his people not to join such clubs, on which he was immediately rebuked in the chapel, by one of his congregation. All this very good. It cannot be that the rabble of Rathfriland should stop the growing liberty of Ireland. Home. Bed early.

16th The Tanner called on me to recommend two things: First, to publish the plan alluded to by the Derry Grand Jury, to which we agree, as secrecy is no longer necessary; and, secondly, that the new committee should not meet so early as October, because the longer it is delayed, the more numerous our friends in the North will be, as every day produces converts, and, therefore, if Government should attack the committee, we should have a stronger support. To this we answer, that we are sure Government will not venture on any strong measure until Parliament is sitting to back them, and it will be advisable to have the country members assembled for some little time before the danger, if any can arise, that they may know each other, and be accustomed to stand fire. The Tanner acquiesces in this reasoning; very glad to see him so anxious about us, and so eager to procure us *proper* support. Digges used to praise him

and Getty; also the Hypocrite thinks Macabe and him the two men in Belfast most to be depended upon. Set off for Hillsborough, accompanied by the Jacobin. Write to Lord Downshire, and request permission to wait upon him; he asks us to dinner, which we decline; he then appoints seven o'clock in the evening, when we wait on him and Lord Hillsborough. Very long conversation on the subject of our mission. Lord Downshire's faculties quite gone. Lord Hillsborough's sharp enough; a high Aristocrat. Angry at the committee's interference. No notion of any mode of settling the disturbances but by a strong hand. Talks of more regiments of light-horse, and calls the committee and the Defenders "Dublin Papists, and country Papists;" says our going down has done great mischief, though our motives may be good; abuses the men who formed the meeting at Rathfriland on the 18th July; says there are four thousand stand of arms in the hands of the Defenders, and, if they will pile them up in one place, he will ensure their protection; inveighs bitterly against the communications between the Catholics through the country, and against seditious publications, which he *explains* to signify Payne; says the laws have been equally administered, for that six Protestants have been hanged for Peep-of-day-boy practices, and two of them on the spot where the burglary was committed. (*This a lie.*) In short, that he will see the laws execute themselves, without our interference. On the whole, his Lordship was just civil, and no more.—Fine fencing between his Lordship and Mr. Hutton, who defends the Catholics with great address and ability; hits his Lordship several times on the *riposte*. The ambassadors both bluff and respectful. State their case, and that they did not come until called upon; make a cut or two at the Protestant ascendency about Rathfriland. Admit the 4,000 stand of arms, but state that they have, in no one instance, been used offensively. Strike a little at the new corps; to the raising of which, and the spirit of the officers, we insinuate almost the whole of the present alarm may be attributed. Pin his Lordship to the confession that the Catholics have never, in any case, begun the attack. As to their meeting in bodies, admit it is improper, but state that they have always dispersed without doing mischief. Finally, declare our convictions that, if the Catholics could see that they had equal protection with the Protestants, peace would be

immediately restored. Part from their Lordships, neither of us much pleased with the other. Set off, and arrive at Ballinahinch late. Introduced to M'Clokey, a proper man. That neighborhood almost totally converted, though very bad some little time back. A new corps raised there on Peep-of-day-boy principles, converted by M'Clokey, who, in return, is chosen their lieutenant. All well. The Catholics and they are now on such good terms that the Catholics lend them their arms to learn their exercise, and walk to see them parade, and both parties now in high affection with each other, who were before ready to cut each other's throats. All this done in about two months, or less, and by the exertions of one obscure man. What might not be done by the Aristocrats of the county Down, if they were actuated by the same spirit? Damn them! Mug a quantity of mulled wine. Generally drunk. Union of Irishmen with three times three, &c. Bed late.

17th. Rise as sick as a dog. Walk out to Montalto and meet Lord Moira. Breakfast with his lordship, the Abbé Berwick,* and Williamson, of Lisburn. Apprize them of our expedition, and ask leave to introduce Gog, which he grants with much civility; his Lordship well disposed, and the more so as Lords Hillsborough and Annesley are adverse. He abuses Lord Annesley, who is by all accounts a mere brute, and has a trick of knocking down the Catholics on the roads, or wherever he meets them for his amusement; scoundrel! Why do they not knock him down again and be hanged? Bring Gog up and introduce him; invited to dinner with his Lordship, and promise accordingly. Walk off with Gog, the Abbé, and Williamson, to see Mr. Sharman; find him at the Spa, and state our case generally. Mr. Sharman extremely friendly, and condemns the conduct of the Aristocrats and their dependants. He approves extremely of the address to the Defenders, which we show him; all this very well; great laughing with the Abbé on our return. The Abbé has "*a species of something like rationality.*" Williamson a sharp dog; has been tampering with the Union regiment to get addresses counter to the Belfast proceedings on the 14th July. Tried three different companies, and failed in every one; obliged to give it up, yet he prates about liberality and justice. Mr. Hutton half angry with him, but

* The Rev. Mr. Berwick, Chaplain to his Lordship.

does not let him know it; flatters him between jest and earnest, but it won't do; the fellow is not to be depended upon. Dinner spoiled by the unexpected arrival of General Patterson and Colonel Marsh, on their way to England; stupid as the devil; the Abbé quite out of spirits. Mr. Hutton and Gog rise early and depart; leave Ballinahinch and travel in the dark to Banbridge; unpleasant enough; bad road; sleep at Banbridge.

18th. Arrive at Newry about 8. Meet O'Hanlon and some others; tell them of our journey; all agree that we should publish the address to the Defenders. Write to Lord Downshire, Lord Moira, Col. Sharman, Bishop McMullen, Bishop Lennon, and inclose copies of the address. Pat. O'Hanlon engages to distribute the address through Mourne, and all other parts where the disturbances are, in the county Down. Propose to set off for Dublin; prevailed upon to stay and endeavor to reconcile the Catholics of Newry, who have been bickering; agree accordingly. Meet the contending parties in the evening at the Inn. Gog makes a very lucid statement of the Catholic affairs; never heard him half so well; preaches up peace and union, and advises them to direct their animosities against the common enemy, the monopolists of the country. The whole company agree to bury all past feuds in oblivion; rise and shake hands mutually. The chairman, by order of the meeting, invites Gog and Mr. Hutton, who has played *Ripieno* all the evening, to dine with the Catholics of Newry next day, to commemorate the restoration of harmony, which they agree to, though it breaks in on their system. Sit late, "*all with magnanimity and benevolence;*" *Beaujour!* Good thing to have restored peace to the town. Gog proposes, and the Catholics agree to form a society for the advancement of Catholic affairs; Gog and Mr. Hutton admitted original members; all present, sign a paper, signifying their resolution to form a club, &c. Gog and Mr. Hutton "*flourish their hands in a most graceful manner, and depart.*" Mr. Hutton *entre deux vins*, proposes a society of United Irishmen. The proposal much relished; all this very good.

19th. *Sunday.* Go to mass; foolish enough; too much trumpery. *The king of France dethroned!!* Very glad of it, for now the people have fair play. What will the army do! God send they may stand by the nation. Every thing depends upon the line they take. *Our* success depends on things which some

of us are such fools as not to see. Ride to Rosstrevor; more and more in love with it; dinner; thirty people, many of them Protestants, invited on the occasion. Dr. Moody, the Dissenting minister, says grace; bravo! all very good; toasts excellent. United Irishmen mentioned again, and the idea meets universal approbation; hope it may do; wonderful to see how rapidly the Catholic mind is rising, even in this tory town, which is one of the worst spots in Ireland; sit till nine; set off for Dundalk, and arrive about 12.

20th. Off very early, and breakfast in Drogheda; get the people together, and put them up to every thing; all stout. Set off for Dublin, and arrive at six in the evening; a good deal fatigued. This has been, on the whole, a most excellent journey, and has done infinite good. We have put our adversaries in the North completely in the wrong, and of course ourselves in the right. We have materially contributed to restore peace in the county Down; we have created a spirit in Newry, which never existed there before; we have reconciled their differences; we have generally encouraged our friends, disheartened our enemies, and puzzled Lord Hillsborough. All very good.

Hic finis longæ chartæque viæque.—*Hor.*
Here our long journey and my paper ends.—*Francis.*

Dublin, 23d August, 1792. Sub-committee. Letter from Dr. Esmonde, of Kildare. Mr. Conolly friendly in a great degree, and entirely condemns the Derry resolutions. Write an X. Y. containing an impartial account of our late journey, and reception in the North; send it to Joy, for his paper, and write to Neilson to copy it, by which means we have the advantage of a double circulation. Will Joy be honest enough to print it?

24th. Write a letter to O'Hanlon, in Newry, desiring him to collect facts relative to the disturbances in county Down; and hints about the Catholic Society and United Irish, of Newry—good letter. Write a flourishing manifesto, on the part of the General Committee, in reply to a set of resolutions from the county Limerick; certainly prepared by the Chancellor: the resolutions very pert and saucy, and the manifesto not much behind them; all the Catholics approve of it, and particularly the Vintner, who has recovered his spirits and is quite stout, which is partly owing to his being marked by name in the Chancellor's

resolutions. Agreed that Gog and Mr. Hutton shall wait upon Grattan, and shew him the manifesto, and also state to him the transactions in the North.

25th. Drive down to find Grattan; Devereux, of county Wexford, accompanying me, Gog being hipped. Grattan not at home; find him at last at Broome's, of Killmacud, and settle to call on him next day.

27th. *Sunday.* Tinnehinch. Read the manifesto to Grattan and Hardy; Grattan thinks it too controversial and recommends moderation in language, and firmness in action. The manifesto taken to pieces, and at least three-fourths struck out; many passages supplied by Grattan himself, Mr. Hutton taking them down from his dictation: no man bears criticism half so well as Mr. Hutton. The manifesto, as amended, not to be published until all the grand juries have spoken out. Grattan desires Mr. Hutton to take *great pains* in incorporating the new with the original matter, so that the joining may not be perceived. Consultation, as to the conduct of the Catholic committee, on the subject of their petition. Mr. Hutton throws out the idea of the committee adjourning before the meeting of Parliament, which is eagerly adopted by the two members. Some months ago Mr. Hutton had mentioned it to Col. Hutchinson, who, in the true spirit of a soldier, rejected it; gallant, but scarcely wise, though Hutchinson is a very clever man. The reasons which determine the question now, are: 1st, It will make the new committee-men stout, when they find themselves out of danger. 2d, When the petition, &c. is prepared, they can be of more use in the country, than in town, as mediums of information to the people. 3d, It will remove the Chancellor's imputation of a Popish Congress sitting in the capital to overawe Parliament, and so put the friends to the cause in the House of Commons on strong ground, and of course cripple their adversaries. All very reasonable. Grattan takes Mr. Hutton aside, and tells him that, as the season for action is now approaching, it is the wish of himself and his friends, that all communication between them and the Catholics should be through him, Mr. Hutton; as, if they were to hold personal communication, Government would say they were agitators, inflaming the public mind, and that, instead of their being the organ of the Catholics sentiments, the Catholics were only instruments in their hands; that the grievances of the Catholics would thereby be said not to be felt, but suggested by Grattan and his friends.

to answer the purposes of a faction; all which would entail a kind of responsibility on them, and embarrass and weaken them much in the operations of next winter. Mr. Hutton very much pleased with this; and the more, as the party had absolutely refused to communicate with his great predecessor, *Burke*, and now refuse to communicate with the Catholics through any other medium than himself; Bravo! Break the matter gently to Gog. Gog struck all of a heap—jealous as the devil; says he sees the cause is desperate, and that Grattan is going to give them up: no such thing. Argue with him, and satisfy him tolerably, but his vanity, of which he has plenty, has got a mortal blow—poor Gog! All this may not serve Mr. Hutton in the long run. Gog has not strength of mind to co-operate fairly; must do all, or seem to do all, himself. Has worked out *M'Kenna* first, and now *Burke*, both with sufficient appearance of reason; but the fact is a dirty personal jealousy, lest they might interfere with his own fame, is at the bottom of all. Little mind! paltry! Mr. Hutton will do *what is right, coute qui coute.* Finds himself more and more necessary to the Catholics, which is his best chance; but if Gog sets his face against him, he must go down like the others: "*Tis but in vain for soldiers to complain.*" No party will bear a minute inspection. Mr. Hutton advises Gog to keep this arrangement a secret from the Catholics, merely to let him down easy. Cunning! Mr. Hutton now established as the medium of communication between the Catholics and their friends in Parliament. How long will he remain so? Proud ground! Grattan considers the Catholic question as but a means of advancing the general good—Right! But do the Catholics consider it so? The devil a bit, except one or two of them. Gog says, if they get franchise we shall see all they will do for reform. God send; but I, for one, doubt it: however, I will go on—*their cause is just, independent of reform.*

28th *August.* Grattan again. Repeats his desire of communicating with the Catholics through Mr. Hutton only. He sails for England to night. The Czar.* He cautions me not to lay myself under pecuniary obligations to Gog. See that he is right, and at any rate have no necessity for money just now.

29th, 30th, 31st. Nothing but ordinary business at the Sub-committee. Burke expected. The Vintner quite stout.

* Counsellor Peter Burrowes,

1st *September*, 1792. Dress myself in the Belfast uniform, and go to dine at Dixon's. All the soldiers salute me as I pass, and the sentries carry their arms; pleased as Punch at this, and a great fool for my pains. Suppose they take me for the Duke of Brunswick, or some foreign officer of distinction. Puppy!

3d *September*. Burke is come. The Catholics all angry. Fancy his reception will be mortifying enough.

5th. Agree that Gog shall go into a full exposition with Burke, of the grounds of the displeasure of the Catholics. Burke, a sad impudent fellow, forcing himself upon these people. Gog thinks he is coming over as a spy for Dundas. Rather think he has been puffing his own weight among the Catholics, with Ministers in England, and finding himself civilly dismissed by letter, he is come over, trusting to the powers of his effrontery, that the Catholics will not have the spirit to maintain their letter *face* to *face*. Fancy he will find himself in the wrong. They all seem exasperated against him, and he richly deserves it. His impudence is beyond all I have ever known. Sad dog! Edmund Burke has Gog's boys now on a visit at Beaconsfield, and writes him a letter in their praise. The scheme of this obvious enough. He wants to enlist Gog, on behalf of his son, but it wont do. Gog sees the thing clear enough. Sad! sad! Edmund wants to get another 2,000 guineas for his son, if he can; dirty work! Edmund no fool in money matters. Flattering Gog to carry his point. Is that *sublime* or *beautiful?* The Catholics will not be had, as I judge, by the pitiful artifice of the father, or the determined impudence of the son.

6th. Gog has had his interview with Burke, and given him his *congé*. Burke as mad as the devil, but can't help himself. He deserves it all and more. Wait on Simon Butler with queries, for his opinion on the circular letter signed E. Byrne. Plump in our favor. Wait on Mr. Smith, who declines, and pleads privilege of Parliament. Not quite fair. Burston. He reads the queries; gives a general opinion in our favor, as to the principle, and promises to consider the question, as to the mode; ten guineas to him and Butler. Propose to disperse one hundred copies of the circular letter among the Common Council, who are to meet on Tuesday next. Agreed to. Meet the Tribune and put him up to topics and arguments for that occasion. Find that the Union Club, of Newry, have printed our

answer to an address. Silly enough; they should have warned us they meant to publish. Well it is no worse. "*Tis but in vain for soldiers to complain.*"

7th. Breakfast with the Vintner and ride out with him to Burston, about the opinion, which he promises in less than a week. The Vintner a very sensible man. Excellent conversation. Sub-committee. Agree that Gog, M'Donnell, and T. Broughall, shall call on Conolly on Sunday next, and that Mr. Hutton shall go down to-morrow to county Kildare, to secure Wogan Browne to introduce them. Dine with Gog. Rambling conversation about a noble marquis, the Knoxes, &c. change of ministry, &c. &c. Gog very obscure, but think I see light through it. May end in a jaunt to see my friend P. P., and converse with my friend George Knox. Foolish enough, as it strikes me, but can do no harm in the mean time, and if it only produces a journey to the North, no bad thing. The noble general expected in a day or two. Mr. Hutton sets off to-morrow, being Saturday, September 8th.

8th. County Kildare. Find my little boy grown a fine fellow.* Dine at Rathcoffy; Wogan Browne; Archery; ride late and sleep at Clain.

9*th, Sunday*. Drive in Browne's carriage to Celbridge, and meet the Catholic Commissioners to the South; agree to call first on the Duke of Leinster; set off to Carton, and find Conolly there; much conversation; Gog very bad and diffuse; T. B. very well; McDonnell excellent; says more in *three* words than all the other commissioners; Mr. Hutton almost silent; Gog seeming determined to shine; the Duke very friendly, and declares his approbation of the whole of the Catholic proceedings, and more especially of the plan. Conolly a strange rambling fool; talked for near an hour, without the least connexion, about a Union, the Regency, Mr. Fox, the Whig Club, the Catholics, a pension bill, a place bill, a Union, Da capo, &c. &c. &c. The Duke took much pains to set and keep him right; has ten times the understanding of Conolly; the result was that we convinced him that we intended nothing violent or hostile, and then he declared himself satisfied. He condemned the grand juries extremely, and particularly his own county of Derry; told

* Myself.—Editor.

us, as a great discovery, that Government were at the bottom of all this. Lord help him! Shocking to think that such an ass should have influence any where; necessary to us, however; think we may count upon him next session. The Duke hollow with us; *Bon!* Conolly offers to go security his whole fortune on the good behavior of the Catholics; all fair; the Duke asks us to dine, also Conolly; refuse both with many thanks, and go off to dine at Castle Browne with Rowan, &c. *Beau jour.* Rowan a fine fellow, and Wogan Browne just as good. Drink—"The spirit of the French mob to the people of Ireland." Stout! All very pleasant and well; sleep at Rathcoffy.

10th and 11th. Rathcoffy; Archery; eating and drinking.

12th. Dublin in the boat; Captain Tone very ill, (my uncle) fear he will not live through the winter; sorry for him; a gallant officer.

13th. Ride out with the Vintner to Burston for his opinion; plump with us; all fair; well done, Burston! Sub-committee; agree to publish the opinions in the papers, and also as a circular letter. Simon Butler asks me to dine, and meet Burke; returns from Cork; see the Protestant ascendency resolutions of the Common Council of Dublin; boobies! Please God we will try to pick a hole or two in them. Vindex has produced an imitator in the Northern Star, a Mr. Crito, a good kind of a man; not equal to the other; "*all fair, as Mr. Breslaw hath it.*" Dinner at Butler's; go away early; correct the press in the Hibernian Journal.

14th. Write to Dr. Toole about Capt. Tone; write to Devereux and advise him to have the opinions reprinted, either in the Wexford paper, or in handbills, to distribute previous to the county meeting. Meet the Abbé; he tells me a friend of his (Lord Rawdon) is expected to-night; settle that he shall call on me to-morrow morning. The Abbé seems very eager to pre-occupy that gentleman against false representations.

15th. The Abbé calls to tell me that his friend has turned back; that his coming is fixed, but the time uncertain. Damn it! Write a letter to the Corporation of Dublin on their resolutions against the Catholics, signed a Protestant Freeman. Dull enough; very stupid all this day. Write a letter soliciting contributions from Irish Catholics, resident in foreign parts.

16th. Ride out with Tom Warren; wet to the skin; broach a proposal to him of a general emigration to America, in case we fail in our present schemes. He approves of it highly, and thinks we should get Catholics enough to join us, and a vast property. A choice plan! P. P. and his brother; Whitley Stokes Principal of a College to be founded, &c. Warren and Mr. Hutton get drunk talking of their plan. *God bless every body.*

17th. Gog's man has been dunning me for £20, I believe without orders, Gog being out on his mission. Give the man a short rebuke, but do not pay him. The Devil to pay in Paris. The mob have broken open the prisons, and massacred all the prisoners, Montmorin, the Princess Lamballe, &c. with circumstances of great barbarity, but robbed no one, and were stopped from breaking into the Temple by a blue ribbon stretched across the street, reminding them that their Magistrates were responsible for the King's safety. Strange mixture of cruelty and sentiment! An Irish mob would have plundered, but shed no blood. A Parisian mob murders, but respects property; which is best? I lean to the Frenchman; more manly. Our mob, very shabby fellows. Never would have stood as the Parisians did on the 10th of August. A Sergeant's Guard would drive the mob of Dublin.

18th. Pay Gog, and resolve to have no more to do with him in the money way. Receive a choice letter from the *Colonel*, (Barry,) in answer to one of mine written some time back. Hope to bring the *Noble General* (Lord Rawdon) round; of the very last importance to Ireland to get *him*. He may, if he chooses, as I think, be one of the greatest men in Europe. Dine in the country with M'Donnell: pleasant!

19th. The Galway Bishop, Egan, flinching. Hope Gog may be able to bring him round.

20th. Sick. Write an X. Y., abusing the Down grand jury, and send it to Neilson. Middling. Write a squib against all the foremen, for one of the Dublin papers, signed "No Grand Juryman;" poor enough. Write to Gog mysteriously on the subject of Lord Rawdon. God Almighty send we may be able to arrange that business.

September 21. Burston angry that his opinion was published, and confesses that it is because he does not wish to offend the Chancellor. Shabby! Agree to publish that it was inserted

without his knowledge. The Vintner dreads any thing which may bring his name in question. Understand this apprehension arises from the consciousness of some peccadilloes in the way of trade, which he is apprehensive the Castle papers will lay hold on, and abuse him. Little enough. In great favor with the Vintner on account of *Vindex*, which he says, God knows why, has been the saving of him. Receive a letter from the Rev. Mr. Fleming, Vicar to Dr. Plunket, Bishop of Meath, whom I met at Drogheda, and admired so much. Plunket doing his business like a *man*. To send Fleming thirty sheets of parchment, thirty declarations, sixty plans, and one hundred and eighty opinions, for the counties of Meath and Westmeath. *Bravo!* We began to be afraid of those counties. *Ca ira!*

Sunday, 23d. Write a second Protestant Freeman. The first has turned out better than I expected, or than in my own mind it deserved. I do not own them, nor will I, unless my vanity gets the better of me, own any newspaper thing hereafter. Read over a pamphlet which I wrote last winter, but which never was published. Very curious to see what pains I took to prove fifty things, which are now received as axioms. Called at Moira House; apprehend I am out of favor there for holding democratic principles. Cannot be helped. "'Tis but in vain," &c.

24th. Send off the parchments, &c. to Mr. Fleming. Write sundry letters, one to P. P. Very fond of P. P. after dinner. *I had dined.* Staid at home all the evening like a virtuous man. Wrote a letter for the Hibernian Journal, signed *Senex*. Choice good I think! also, a squib at the Post Assembly, signed Q. Saucy enough. Call them dunces. "*Vide my Pamphlet, where I call my adversary Goose.*" This morning introduced to an aristocrat, the Earl of Granard. Seems a pleasant man. The Abbé a good fellow, *toujours gai!* Lord Moira afraid of the Papists. Fancy I am out there, though the Abbe will not tell me so. However, (sings,) "'Tis but in vain, for soldiers to complain." That is the six and fiftieth time I have quoted that line, and it is quite fresh yet; wears like steel; learned it from P. P. as well as sundry other good things. Pleased as Punch with Senex and Q. "What will the learned world say to my paradoxes?" The Protestant Freeman in to-day's paper, but I hear nobody praise it. Cruel!

25th. Write an account of the Wexford meeting in consequence of a letter from Devereux, and send it to the Hibernian Journal. Determine to set off to-morrow, and see the Translator. Sleep in my clothes at an inn near the canal, to be off early.

26th, 27th, 28th. At Ballybrittas. The Translator in very bad spirits, and with great reason. Advise him to send his daughters to a boarding school, and try his fortune for a few months in London, as an author, for which I think him very well qualified. He seems to approve of the plan. His affairs in as bad a situation as possible, and his temper badly adapted to recover them. Wants resolution and energy; too much of the milk of human kindness. Poor fellow!

29th. Dublin. None of my late compositions in the Hibernian Journal! Gog returned. Go to Mt. Jerome and breakfast. All well in Munster. Write resolutions for the Limerick Catholics. Pretty good; have brought on the Catholics to complain of being taxed without being represented, and bound by laws to which they do not consent; *a great stride!* Gog's mode of considering the question a good one. His way of putting it is, that for want of the protection of the elective franchise, the poorer Catholics are turned out of their little farms, at the expiration of their leases, to make room for Protestant freeholders, who can assist their landlords by their votes. A good mode, but makes the question a mere matter of convenience. My mode puts it on the broad basis of right; lucky that both are very compatible, and strongly support each other. In high favor with Gog. Much conversation about an *expiration* to Dungannon. Gog's plan is as follows: That I should go to George Knox, and suggest to him, that if Lord Abercorn would take up the cause of the Catholics, and assume the Lieutenancy of Ireland, he might make terms with Lord Shannon and his friends, and, if possible, with the Ponsonbys, keeping the negotiation *a profound secret* from the Beresford party. That the affairs of Ireland are in such a situation as must make them a considerable object of anxiety to the British Government; that our present administration, and particularly Fitzgibbon, are making things worse by their violence; that, therefore, the English Minister will naturally fall in with the men and measures which will keep this country quiet, and, consequently, we may

reckon on his concurrence. That the Beresford party are very odious here and have little weight personally, but are supported by the patronage of Government, which, if removed, they would fall at once with the unanimous consent of the nation. That Lord Abercorn should, having previously made his terms, by direct bribery, with Lord Shannon, and being also sure of the support of the whole of the Catholics, and, at least, a part of the Protestants, propose to the Beresford party to grant the elective franchise, &c. to the Catholics, which they would, to a moral certainty, refuse to do; that he should then at once turn out the whole party, which would sink directly, being odious to the nation, and having little personal weight, and fill up their places with new men, Lord Shannon, the Knoxes, &c.: that this vast patronage falling into his hands at once, would enable him to make such terms as would carry every thing easily: that, as to Lord Abercorn, it would make him the most popular Lord Lieutenant that ever was in Ireland, and secure him the strongest government: that, as to the Knoxes, it would make a short cut for them to arrive at power and honors, which, on the present system, they will but slowly, if ever, arrive at: that the mode itself is an honorable one, being the granting, or rather restoring, their just rights to three millions of people, &c. Such is the outline of Gog's system, in which he seems very sanguine. What do I think of it? If I go to Dungannon, I will certainly put it as fairly and as strongly to George Knox as I can, but I confess I should be sorry to succeed. I feel myself bound in duty to do every thing in my power to procure liberty to the Catholics of Ireland; but this appears to me a bad scheme. In the first place, it is at once giving up the question of reform; or at least, postponing it for an indefinite time, and is so far at once knocking up all that we have done, for this last twelvemonth, towards effecting an union between the Dissenters and the Catholics. Not that I think the former would have any right to complain, for they have not come forward in support of Catholic emancipation, *save only in Belfast;* and the Catholics are not to renounce all separate measures for the sake of that one town. I believe if they were properly supported by the body of the Dissenters, they would keep faith; but the fact is, they are not. In the next place, it would strengthen the hands of the English Government in this country, for a considerable time to

come. At present (1792) England, except in commercial regulations, where she buys us with our own money, has not a great deal of influence here; on the contrary, administration rather holds them at defiance, and, in the present Catholic question, has actually, by bullying, prevented their interference; which, by the by, is a circumstance in favor of Gog's plan: whereas, with the example of the great change intended, future Irish administrations would be more shy of opposing, much less of attempting to bully the English Minister. In the third place, it would naturally, from gratitude, throw the whole Catholic interest into the support of a Government to which they would owe so much, and, I am unalterably satisfied, that the crown, as it is improperly said, but more truly the *oligarchy*, has already much too great a portion of power in our system; which power I have never hitherto known them to exercise for any good purpose, and which they would be less likely, at least for a considerable time, (if my judgment be right,) to use for that end, inasmuch, as I conceive English influence would be considerably increased. These objections occur to me on the moment, but I must consider the question much more maturely. One conversation with Knox will do more than twenty soliloquies. Admitting all my objections, if the scheme be practicable, *quere*, is not the emancipating three millions of Catholics a great accession of strength, and even of liberty to Ireland? and besides, though the immediate consequence would be an improper increase of strength to a vile Government, yet this could not continue for any great length of time. The Catholics having enjoyed a qualified degree of freedom for a few years, would come to think like other people, and especially from the information which would naturally accompany the prosperity consequent on their emancipation. Gratitude soon wears out, and when they were more advanced in prosperity, they would, besides being more capable of judging, actually feel the evils of a bad government much more; which looks like a paradox, but is very true. Mr. E. Byrne, besides being a better judge, *actually feels* the extended mischief of our vile system much more than one of his porters. Apply this idea. What is to be done on the whole. "6 *times* 12 *is* 72, 2 *and carry* 7, *how are we ruined?*" I believe if the Catholics were emancipated, no matter on what compact with Government, in a little time they would become

like other people. At any rate they cannot bind their children by such compact, (vide Thomas Paine). "*I am puzzled in mazes, and perplexed with errors.*" I abhor all capitulating with a bad Government, if it could be helped. Natural enough, that the Catholics should seek for, and be glad to accept of liberty from any quarter. Oh, why are not those fellows in the North sufficiently enlightened to join heartily with us! Then, indeed, something might be done. Reform, liberty, and equality! The Catholics would, I think, join them; yet I remember when I thought they were incurable tories, and that is not eighteen months since. Live and learn. What if the Duke of Leinster was included? He is a friend to the Catholics, and no enemy to a good place. Suppose Grattan and Forbes secured by stipulating for one or two of their popular bills? Reform seems a good way off, and all this would be gaining ground in the mean time. It would be making something like a people of which something might be made. If these men come in, we should have a tolerably honest, I believe, but certainly a very strong Government. What would become of Mr. Hutton in that case? and P. P.? "*I am lost in sensations of troubled emotions.*" What will Knox say to all this? Is it castle building or not? A fine fellow I am to-night, not worth a groat, and planning the subversion of Ministers. Oh, Lord! Oh, Lord! I will go to bed. "*Tis but in vain,*" &c. &c.

30*th September, Sunday.* Blank.

October 1, 1792. This day eighteen counties have completed the return of their delegates to the General Committee, and nine more are in progress, besides all the great towns. Correct the resolutions of the Roscommon and Leitrim Catholics. Middling enough. All that is good in them, borrowed from the Sligo resolutions, written by that able and steady friend to the interests of Ireland, Mr. John Hutton.

2d. Dine with Gog. Talk over the plan of my Dungannon *expiration.* Find I have reported his ideas faithfully in my *Gurnal,* of the 29th ult. Write a long letter to Colonel Barry, filled with important information on Catholic affairs; read it to Gog, who approves thereof. I fear, after all, Lord Rawdon will not have the sense to see what a great game he might play here. He would rather dangle at the tail of an English party, when, I think, he might be every thing but

King of Ireland. Mug with Gog, and walk home elevated with liquor. God bless every body!

3d. Call at Moira House, and see every body. Most graciously received. Introduced to Lady Granard, who takes charge of my letter to Col. Barry. Dinner, and a great deal of wine. Frivolous day. Generally drunk. Fine doings twice running. Hear that the Duke of Brunswick has defeated the French under Dumourier, and cut the whole army in pieces. Hope it is a lie. If Dumourier fights, he will infallibly be beaten. Never fight an invading enemy. Keep on his flanks, and harass his convoys, &c. &c.

4th. Sick as a dog. Rode out to Gog. "Smoke the rhyme." Has had a letter from Myles Keon, requiring somebody of the committee to go to Ballinasloe to meet the Catholic gentry of Mayo and Galway. Dennis Browne playing tricks in the former county. Recommends a separate petition, and condemns the plan. He is damned kind! Wishes, if he could, to act the patron to the Catholics, that he might make sale of 3,000,000 of clients at the Castle. A blockhead, without parts or principles! But it wont do. The Catholics here, smoke him. Last winter they used to stare at me for speaking contemptuously of him, a man who was brother to a Lord, and a Member of Parliament. They have got over all that now. Wonderful improvement in their sentiments. Burke has disappeared these some days, and is gone no one knows whither. To return to Mayo. Agreed that Tom Warren and I shall go, and Randel M'Donnell, if we can get him, to Ballinasloe to-morrow, to convert the Catholic gentry of that county and of Galway. Gog is afraid of *wet sheets*. Is that the real truth? No matter, we will go without him. Call on M'Donnell, but do not find him. This jaunt knocks up one I had planned for Saturday to Rathcoffy, where there are to be great doings. Rowan has invited Mrs. Tone and me to meet Simon Butler and other *Sans Culottes*. Cannot be helped. "'Tis but in vain," &c. public business must take place of pleasure and vain delight. Settle with Warren to leave town to-morrow at twelve. "This is the first time that Mr. Hutton has been trusted on a separate negotiation." How will he acquit himself? Gog has had a letter from the Jacobin, praising Mr. Hutton to the skies. *There-by hangs a tale.* A plot between the Jacobin and Mr. Hutton,

to raise the latter gentleman in the eyes of the Catholics. Poor Gog falls in the snare. *All fair.* Tea with Hamilton Rowan, who shows me a letter to Lord Abercorn, containing three-fourths of the plan as detailed in this *Gurnal.* Very odd that Gog and he should coincide so exactly without communication. No confirmation of the defeat of Dumourier. Hope in God it is a lie. Very sick!

5th. Tom Warren cannot go to Ballinasloe, being detained by his wife, who is just ready to lie in. All fair! Write resolutions for Down and Louth. Tom Braughall, all of a sudden, offers to go to Ballinasloe. Must go. Well, load my pistols, and pack up. N. B. For the miraculous events in that journey, see book —— wherein they are fully detailed, being "*moving accidents by flood and field; How we were taken by the insolent foe, and sold to slavery, and our redemption thence,*" &c. &c.

Journal of the proceedings of Mr. John Hutton, in his peregrination to convert the natives of Connaught, and more especially of Galway and Mayo, to the true political faith.

October 5, Friday, 1792. Left Dublin at eight in the evening in a post chaise, with Mr. Braughall, commonly called in this journal T. B. Loaded with good advice by Gog in the morning, who has given me a broad hint to puff him in Connaught. An adventure!! Stopped by three foot-pads near the park gate, who threaten to exterminate the post boy if he attempts to move; T. B. valiant, also Mr. Hutton. Mr. Hutton uses menacing language to the said foot-pads, and orders the post boy, in an imperious tone of voice, to drive on. The *Voleurs,* after about three minutes' consideration, give up the point, and the carriage proceeds. If they had persisted, we should have shot some of them, being well armed. Mr. Hutton in a fuss; his first emotion was to jump out and combat on foot; very odd! but his fear always comes on *after the danger;* much more embarrassed in a quarter of an hour after, than during the dialogue; generally stout, and would have fought, but had rather let it alone; glad we did not kill any of the villains, who seemed to be soldiers. Drive on to Kinnegad—another adventure!

The chaise breaks down at three in the morning; obliged to get out in the mud, and hold up the chaise with my body, whilst the boy puts on the wheel; all grease and puddle; melancholy! arrive at Kinnegad at past four; bad hours!

6th. Set off at eight; sick for want of sleep; meet Dr. French, Catholic bishop of Elphin, at Athlone; seems a spirited fellow, and much the gentleman. T. B. no great things in a post chaise; arrive late at Ballinasloe, and get beds with great difficulty. Meet Mr. Larking the parish priest, a sad vulgar booby, but very civil to the best of his knowledge. Mr. Hutton falls asleep in company; victuals bad; wine poisonous; bed execrable; generally badly off; fall asleep in spite of ten thousand noises; wish the gentlemen over my head would leave off the bagpipes, and the gentlemen who are drinking in the next room, would leave off singing, and the two gentlemen who are in bed together in the closet, would leave off snoring; sad, sad; all quiet at last and be hanged!

7th, Sunday. Find Mr. Larking has been so diligent that he has got no body to meet us—dunce! Send out ourselves for one or two gentlemen, whom T. B. knows, and who engage to get us some of the Mayo people, after 12 o'clock prayers. Breakfast; the waiter brings us beefsteaks, fried with a great quantity of onions; nice feeding, but not to my taste. Asked to dine with sundry Catholics; how will it turn out? "*'Tis but in vain,*" *&c.* Walk out and meet Mr. Peter Lynch, and find him cool, or rather adverse; Dennis Browne has been tampering with him; he seems disinclined to give us a meeting. Meet Mr. Patrick Lynch, cool also; talk with him, and convert him. He engages to get a meeting of the Mayo gentry to-morrow at 3 o'clock. Bon! General O'Donnel; he knows nothing of politics. James Plunket; bravo! He engages to go among the Mayo people this evening, and bring them to-morrow; he also engages to convert Peter Lynch, who, it seems, is a great man amongst the Catholics. He says the parochial electors of Mayo are already chosen. Dinner with the Catholics; dull as ten thousand devils! Dismal! Dreary! Bed at nine o'clock, in a crib about five feet square; damn these bagpipes.

8th. Breakfast, more beefsteak and onions. *Go gentle gales.* Fragrant and pretty. Go and see the fair; great show of bullocks: the greatest cattle fair in Europe, except one in Hunga-

ry, as T. B. tells me. Glad that I have seen it as matter of curiosity, but, on the whole, disappointed, as every man will be who expects extravagantly; about 70,000 sheep sold. This a thin fair of cattle, but smart prices. James Plunket seems to have found the Mayonian's slack; cannot be helped; "*'tis but in vain*," *&c.* Go at three to meet the gentlemen of Galway and Mayo; find a very respectable number assembled. Sir Thomas French takes the chair; a fine young fellow, and of consequence among the Catholics *de son pays; Bon!* Braughall makes a very long, rambling, diffuse, bad statement of the proceedings of the General Committee, and of the objects of our mission. Followed by Mr. Hutton; not much better. That gentleman no great orator at a set speech, though he converses well enough. What is the reason? Because he is, in fact, not only modest, but sheepish, which is a shame. Mr. Hutton had probably better talents, and, to a moral certainty, better education, and, beyond all question, more knowledge of the subject than any of his hearers, yet, after all, he made but a poor exhibition. However, it passed, but by no means satisfied that truly able gentleman. No speaking without much study and continual practice; must try and mend, and get rid of that vicious modesty, which obscures the great splendor and brilliancy of his natural talents. Gog, in his digressive, rambling style, would have beat Mr. Hutton all to nothing, which is a great shame to the latter gentleman. Sir Thomas French states two objections, one to that part of the circular letter which states that Lord Fingal approves the plan, inasmuch as he has been well assured, on good authority, (the Bellews, (*Rascals*) and Donellan of Bally Donellan, as we suppose) that such assertion arises from misconception, if not from wilful misstatement; the other, that the Committee had assumed to themselves, in the new system, a power of expelling such members as might prove refractory. These objections, stated by Sir Thomas French, with great perspicuity and candor, we replied to, the first by stating the facts as they are: by mentioning the admission of William Bellew before all the Bishops on the 11th of September last; by the letters of MM. Keon, Hay, and Devereux; and, finally, by the testimony of Mr. James Plunket, then present, all supporting the veracity of the General Committee in their statement, and, of course, discrediting the accusations thrown out by the Bellew party against us. To

the second point we shew, by reference to the plan, that the Committee has no such power of expulsion, but that the constituents have a power of revoking their delegation. Sir Thomas and all the gentlemen satisfied on both points, and fix upon Saturday, the 20th next, and Glentane for the time and place of choosing their delegates, of which Sir T. French will now be one; a great point gained. No Mayo men present, but Mr. James Lynch, of Cullen. Mr. Patrick Lynch, who engaged to meet us, stays away, out of complaisance to his kinsman, Mr. Peter Lynch, who is rich, and from whom he has expectations. We apply to Mr. James Lynch, who tells us the races, at Castlebar, begin on Saturday next, where all the Catholic gentry of Mayo will meet, and he has no doubt will elect delegates. He seems very indignant at the idea of Mr. Dennis Browne, or Mr. Peter Lynch, or any one man directing the whole county. A good spirit which we endeavor to aggravate. The meeting breaks up, all parties well pleased. Galway is now finally settled, and Mayo in a fair way. They are the two great Catholic counties in Ireland, and the cream and flower of the Catholic gentry. They have been, hitherto, rather adverse to the General Committee, from the bad spirit of aristocracy, which has done the cause so much mischief by producing disunion; but we trust we have now fairly beat the Castle out of Galway, and are pretty confident we have done the same in Mayo. *Ca ira.* Dinner very bad. Retire early to my crib and read Chesterfield's Letters, which has been my great resource against ennui. His lordship, a damned scoundrel; he advises his son to attack Madame De Blot, because she has been married a year and loves her husband. Damn his blood, the rascal! I wish I was kicking him! I do not pretend to more virtue than other people, but I have no notion of such cold-blooded villany on deliberation. Till I read this infamous letter, I thought the character of Valmont, in *Les liaisons dangereuses*, was a monstrous fiction, but I see now that Lord Chesterfield had the inclination, though perhaps not the talent, to be as great a scoundrel. All this is for the edification of P. P. and perhaps of my son, if he ever lives to be old enough to read these memorandums. He is now above a twelvemonth old, and it is time for me to begin to think of forming his mind and his principles. I will never advise him to debauch his friend's wife, only be-

cause she is such a fool as to love her husband. Base! base! I lose my temper at it. It is the 30th of the letters, 2d Vol. wherein this precious paternal advice is communicated. I mention it particularly, because the fact is so unnatural that one would wish it could not be true. It is something like the case of Sykes and Mrs. Parslow, another scoundrel. I have preached enough, and I will go to sleep. Indeed I have preached more than enough, but what can I do better in this vile Inn.

9th. James Plunket will go to the meeting at Castlebar, and take Lord Dillon in his way, with a view of converting his Lordship, by exposing the game which Dennis Browne is playing, endeavoring to become the Padrone of the Mayo Catholics, and establish thereby a strong interest in the county, which might enable him hereafter to hold Lord Dillon at defiance. *Capot me, but it wears a face!* At any rate, Plunket will attend the races closely, and has very little doubt but that we shall have returns from Mayo. *A la bonne heure!* T. B. writes a hundred letters to different people; Mr. Hutton not one, save one official to the Sub-committee. Our bill, monstrous! A guinea for my crib, without window or fire place for two nights. Oh Lord! Oh Lord! what will this world come to? Oh Miss Culahaun, Miss Culahaun, where is your conscience? All will not do. *Il faut payer.* Well, (sings) "*'Tis but in vain, for soldiers to complain.*" No letters from Galway. If this mail brings us none from Dublin to change our present intentions, we shall set off for Athlone at five this evening. Mr. Hutton extremely sick of Ballinasloe in fair time. It is, to be sure, a damned place. Dinner with James Plunket and eight Galway bucks. All civil, but intolerably dull. Handy capping; wagers; horse-racing; swapping. Never saw such a scene before, and hope, sincerely, I never may again. No chaise for Dublin.

10th. No chaise yet. Our conscientious landlady, Miss Calahaun, asks twelve shillings for a buggy to Athlone. Jew! skinflint! Fear we must take it after all, but determine to wait till twelve o'clock, and try for a place in the mail. Walk about the town as a crutch to poor T. B. who is lame. Strange curiosity of T. B., to read all manner of handbills. Mr. Hutton something in the same way. The mail arrives empty. Take our places and set off. *No adventures.* Arrive in Dublin at nine in the morning.

Journal of 1792, *&c.—Dublin.*

October 11*th*, 1792. The story of Dumourier a great lie. Huzza! huzza! Brunswick and his army dying of the flux and running out of France, with Dumourier pursuing him. Huzza! If the French had been beaten, it was all over with us. All safe now for this campaign. Huzza!

12th, 13th. Nothing done. More good news from France. Custine has taken 3,000 Germans and Spires—huzza.

14th. Dine with Magog: a good fellow; much better than Gog. Gog a Papist. "*Wine does wonders.*" Propose to revive volunteers in this city. Magog thinks we may have 1,000 Catholics by the 17th March next. Agreed that he shall begin to canvass for recruits immediately, and continue through the winter. If he succeeds, he will resign his office of Secretary to the Catholic Committee, and commence a mere volunteer. Bravo! All this looks well. Satisfied that volunteering will be once more the salvation of Ireland. A good thing to have 1,500 men in Dublin. Green uniforms, &c.

15th. Choice letters from Connaught. All well there. Galway and Mayo secure. A letter from P. P. He is envious of the laurels of Dumourier, and determined to go to France, and outdo that illustrious Democrat. Wants my advice, as he has made up his mind; and, also to know if I can do any thing by way of letters of recommendation. P. P. a gallant fellow, and quite right. If Mr. Hutton were a single man, he would go and supersede Kellerman. To try Kirwan for a letter to Condorcet; also Wogan Browne, Hamilton Rowan, and Ed. Byrne, the Vintner, for letters to Paris. Poor P. P.; a fine fellow. "*I have drank medicines; the rogue hath given me medicines to make me love him.*" Sorry for P. P. but entirely approve his plan, and his spirit. Writes the best stuff of any man in the world. All his letters good.

15th. *Sub-Committee.* Read the reply to the grand juries. Many alterations suggested. Agree to call an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Dublin, proposed and pressed by Gog, who wants to shine. All fair! It will serve the cause. Gog's vanity sometimes, as in the present instance, of use. Emmet introduced to the Sub-committee. All say Oh! to him, and he

richly deserves their admiration. Emmet, the best of all the friends to Catholic emancipation, always excepting Mr. Hutton. Worth two of Stokes, and ten of Burrowes, and an hundred of Drennan. Dinner at M'Daniel's, the printer. A choice set, all United Irishmen. Sundry good toasts. Mr. Hutton *gris*. God bless every body.

16th. Dr. Bellew, Catholic bishop of Killala, wants subscriptions to found a Catholic seminary in Connaught. Mr. Hutton suggests that it would be adviseable to extend the plan, and educate all the Catholic clergy at home, an object which has long been a favorite with that gentleman. No doubt but many Protestants would subscribe for so wise and so benevolent a purpose; the university, United Irishmen, &c. Agreed that T. Braughall and Mr. Hutton shall wait on Kirwan, the philosopher, to talk over this plan. If a good system were devised, it would execute itself; that of the Catholic bishops a poor one, on a pitiful scale. Gog and Mr. Hutton have been talking over something of this kind already, in their last expedition to the North; as may be seen in the journal of it. Gog, then afraid that the clergy would be adverse, Mr. Hutton of opinion that the breaking up of the seminaries in France would oblige them to consent, and that in that light, as in ten thousand others, the Revolution was of infinite service to Ireland. Gog shyed it; has a sneaking kindness for Catholic bishops and priests; pretends to Mr. Hutton that it is all out of policy, but there is a little superstition at the bottom. Magog and Warren have not a grain of this nonsense. *This education business appears to me of infinite importance, for a thousand reasons, which I shall detail hereafter.* Hope we may get Kirwan to make a sketch of the proposed plan. A strange letter from Burke, at Cork. He will be agent to the Catholics, whether they will or not, and absolutely commits a rape upon the committee. His impudence is beyond what I could have imagined, and his vanity greater. He has the modesty to say, that the *existence* of Ireland depends on his enjoying the confidence of the Catholics, and many other sallies equally extraordinary. The Catholics, astonished and angry at all this persevering insolence, resolved that Gog shall write to him, and tell him that he *is not* the agent of the Catholics, and that, if he desires it, the committee will publish to that effect in the papers. I cannot help again expressing my admiration of

his effrontery, which is consummate beyond all belief. He will not desist until he will compel the committee absolutely to advertise him, with a "warning that no one shall trust him, as," &c. He is, to be sure, a sad dog.—Vide this journal of August 3d, 5th, and 6th.

18th. Spend the evening with Kirwan. Very pleasant, but no talk of our education plan. Hear that DD. Troy and Reilly, the Catholic archbishop of Dublin and Catholic primate, refuse to concur in a general system—Damn them! ignorant bigots.

19th. Nothing done.

20th. Introduced to Captain Sweetman, of Wexford. He reads his speech to the Sub-committee; unanimously approved of, and requested to be printed. It is one of the best popular harangues I ever heard, and filled with choice animosity against the English. Sweetman has been a Catholic, and served in the Irish brigade, Walsh's regiment, and is now a Protestant, and captain in the British service, and freeholder of county Wexford. Has been in America, the East Indies, &c.

21st, *Sunday*. Dine with the Vintner, and a large company. Extremely pleasant. The Vintner hates this Government most cordially. His daughters pleasant women. Mrs. Atkinson there. Mr. Hutton a puppy! **** interesting, ***, &c. Mr. Hutton an egregious coxcomb! Stays late.

22d. Dine with M'Donnell. My son and heir come to town. Home early.

23d. At work with Emmett, on the reply to the grand juries. Gog sick these three or four days, and no business done. Dine with Sweetman at the Green, and a long set. Nothing but dine with this Catholic, and that Catholic; very idle work. Mr. Hutton meditates leaving off the use of wine altogether. Stokes returned from Scotland. Had a narrow escape of being drowned, the ship he came in being wrecked on the northern coast. A million of pities if it had been so. Stokes one of the best heads and hearts that I know, and a man whom I regard as much as any other living.

24th. See the Galway resolutions. Two of them very bad, reflecting on the French. This Lynch's nonsense. Cannot he let the French alone, and be damned? Breakfast with George Knox. Very long conversation on the subject of our proposal

for a new ministry, (vide this journal of September 27th.) Knox seems a good deal struck with the proposition. Enters into all the articles minutely. Finally settled, that Mr. Hutton shall tell Gog that he has conversed with Knox, that he, Knox, cannot immediately say any thing definite on a subject of such magnitude, but, in the mean time, Gog, nor his party, shall lose nothing by communicating the idea to him. Dine with my father. Walk out in the evening in complete armor to Gog, and tell him the result of my conversation with Knox. Gog extravagantly delighted. Insists on my calling on Knox in the morning, and sending him to despatch Lord Abercorn to Pitt. Foolish enough of Gog. Proposes to obtain an audience of Knox. Mr. Hutton shies the same, and desires it may be submitted entirely to his discretion. To which Gog submits. "*'Tis but in vain*," &c. Gog has been disgusted with Dr. Bellew, Catholic Bishop of Killala, on the subject of a national college. The Bishop wants to get money from the Laity, to endow it, and to exclude them from all share in the management. Damned kind! Gog revolts like a fury, and tells Mr. Hutton he begins to see they (the Catholic Bishops) are all scoundrels. *All fair.* Two or three things like this may cure Gog of his sneaking kindness for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, (vide this journal of 17th inst.) Sleep at Gog's.

25th. This is the King's (God bless him) accession. *How many more accessions shall we have?* Breakfast with George Knox. Walk round the green and talk over our scheme. Knox appears to think seriously of it, but says, as the truth is, that the success thereof is very uncertain, as depending on so many events, any one of which failing would destroy the whole. Mr. Hutton presses all the arguments again, and dwells particularly on the strength of the Government, which would be formed in such event, viz. Lord Shannon and the Ponsonbys purchased by dint of money. The Duke of Leinster, who would, it is presumed, be glad to come in, *cum suis*. Grattan, and the two or three honest men who might be secured by agreeing to two or three popular bills, as the place, pension bills, &c., which would give *eclat* to administration, without depriving them of any degree of essential power. (In this assertion Knox completely concurs.) This, added to their own family interest, and the natural influence of the Castle, would form a very powerful go-

vernment. What would be the opposition? The Beresfords, &c. who, in losing their offices, would lose every thing, for they are most odious to the people, and have no natural weight; and the bigoted Protestant squirearchy of Ireland. Ridiculous to talk of such an opposition! Who would listen to Mark Beresford, talking of the corruption of Government? Absurd! The new administration would be *tolerated*, if not supported, by the north, for the sake of Grattan, and, coming in on popular grounds, and with two or three bills which are favorites, though, in fact, they signify nothing. This might be puffed so as to satisfy them; and, as for the Catholics, we should have them to a man, on the ground of the elective franchise. Knox tells me he has written to the Marquis of Abercorn. That shows he has taken it up, for it was only broached to him yesterday. He refuses to see Gog, and asks, *Could Gog expect that he would open himself to him?* Gog damned vain and absurd on some points. Always teizes me to press Knox on the footing of *his* interest. Absurd! Knox ambitious and proud, but not interested, *as I judge.* What will all this come to? Mr. Hutton is decidedly of opinion that the Government of Ireland must either alter their whole system, or be subverted by force, of which God knows the event. The Catholics are so totally changed, and so thoroughly roused, &c. Knox and he agree that there is no *immediate* danger of violence on the part of the people, but that there is forming a gradual mass of discontent, which will, at no short day, break out, and especially if a war should arise, and that this discontent is inflamed and accelerated by the gross petulance and indiscretion of Government here. This may probably be discussed without breaking, by such an arrangement as we meditate.—Sub-committee. Emmet reads an address, as from the Catholics of Dublin, in reply to that of the Corporation. Very good. This turns the scale in favor of the meeting of the Catholics, and Gog will now be gratified with an opportunity of making a speech. "Hurry durry! Nicky nacky!" (see *Venice Preserved.*) Write an opinion for the Catholics of Down, as from the Sub-committee, exhorting them to thank the people of Belfast, &c.

26th. Dennis Browne has been playing the rascal in Mayo. Procured a meeting on the 16th, and knocked up our plan by securing the measure of a separate petition from that county. Damn him! Yet he talks of his love for the cause, &c. The

Catholics here in a horrible rage. More and more losing their respect for the brothers of Lords and Members of Parliament.

27th. Randel M'Donnell has had a letter from the Secretary of the Mayo Catholics at the late meeting, by which it appears possible that we may yet have delegates from that county. Write a letter from the Sub-committee, exhorting them to that measure. Good letter! Meet the parochial delegates in the evening, and settle every thing for the aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Dublin. Mr. Hutton reads the Citizen Emmet's paper, which meets the unanimous approbation of the meeting. No wonder! It is a most excellent paper, and better than Mr. Hutton's intended reply to the grand juries. "*The "dog has taken some of the very best strokes in my tragedy, and "put them into his own comedy.*"

28th. The town has been filled these three or four days with reports of some seditious paper said to be circulated among the soldiers of the garrison. I do not believe it. One officer, Colonel of the Royal Irish Artillery, is said to have been so wise as to draw up the regiment on the parade, and harangue them, exhorting them to obedience, and warning them against "The Rights of Man," &c. Dunce! Blockhead! Could not take a readier way to create the mischief against which he wished to guard. Another report is, that the artillery and all the cavalry are to be ordered to England and replaced by English troops. I hope this is a lie too. These reports, however, show the agitation of the public mind.

29th. Advertisements are this day handed about, ordering a general illumination on account of the expulsion of the German armies from France. I don't know what to think. The illumination is good, but it may be made a handle for rioting, and if so, very mischievous, for Government would rejoice at any thing which would give them an excuse to let the dragoons loose on the people. The illumination set on foot by Oliver Bond and James Tandy. We shall know all about it to-morrow. In the mean time, "*God send we may all be the better for it this day "three months.*" Write a letter to the Draper, with resolutions for the Northern Whig Club, at their next meeting, in favor of the Catholics. Suppose he will not be able to carry them, but good to try. Write resolutions for the meeting on Wednesday next, thanking the people of Belfast, Cork, &c.

30th. The illumination has gone off quietly, notwithstanding the Lord Mayor issued a proclamation forbidding it, and threatening very hard, &c. The horse and foot were out in great force. It should seem, by their being called out so frequently, that Government are determined to accustom the people to see them in the streets. Emmet and I read over the Catholic address for the last time, and make corrections. N. B. The said Emmet henceforward to be called "The Pismire."—*S. Committee;* a very full meeting to settle the plan for to-morrow. Agreed that D. T. O'Brien shall take the Chair; said O'Brien refuses; cowardly! The Chair offered to J. Ball; he refuses also; cowardly! What would the Belfast people say if they saw this? Fixed that old Bernard O'Neil shall be in the Chair, and that Simon Maguire shall be Secretary. Mr. Hutton reads the address. D. T. O'Brien objects to the resolution thanking the Volunteers of Ulster, because it may look like cultivating the friendship of *armed men.* Nobody seconds him. R. McDonnel wishes we had 100,000 of them to thank. Well done! All embrace and depart. Divers Protestants summoned to the meeting to-morrow, Butler, Rowan, Tandy, the Pismire, Mr. Hutton, &c. Gog at home all day rehearsing. All fair. This meeting will do good. The Pismire has written the address, Mr. Hutton the resolutions, and settled the plan of operations; but the world knows nothing of that. It will look well in the columns of the Dublin Evening Post, and encourage all the Catholics in the Kingdom; besides, the publications will be infinitely better than those of the Corporation, to which they are intended to be an answer. Bravo! N. B. All the good publications on the Catholic side, almost, are written by Protestants. Mr. Hutton chooses, for reasons which he does not wish to explain, to insert here, the names of the present Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland.

Thomas Fitzgerald,	Martin F. Lynch,
John Keogh,	Richard McCormick,
Thomas Braughall,	Hugh Hamill,
Edward Byrne,	Dennis Thomas O'Brien,
Randal Macdonnel,	Thomas Warren,
Thomas Ryan, M. D.	John Sweetman, *Secretary.*

October 31. The grand day. A full and respectable meeting. 640 summonses taken at the door, besides many who came in without any. Dr. Ryan's speech the best. Gog mortified thereat; consults Mr. Hutton whether he shall venture to speak after the Doctor. Fishing! Mr. Hutton advises him to speak by all means, and throws in sundry compliments, whereat Gog rises. All fair! Gog's speech rambling and confused, but full of matter. Dine and crack nuts at my father's.

November 1. Dinner at Warren's. A long set of the chief United Irishmen. All very pleasant and good. Mr. Hutton endeavors, being *entre deux vins*, to delude the gentlemen present into forming a volunteer company on good principles, civil and military. A. H. Rowan rises thereat, also Magog. Mr. Hutton a little mad on the subject of volunteering; would be a great Martinet "Army, damn me!" Talk a great deal of tactics and treason. Mr. Hutton grows warm with the subject; very much surprised, on looking down to the table, to see two glasses before him; finds, on looking at Hamilton Rowan, that he has got four eyes; various other phenomena in optics equally curious. Mr. Hutton, like the sun in the centre of the system, fixed, but every thing about him moving in a rapid rotation; perfectly sober, but perceives that every one else is getting very drunk; essays to walk across the room, but finds it impossible to move rectilineally, proceeding entirely from his having taken a sprig of watercresses with his bread at dinner. "God bless every body." Sundry excellent toasts. A round of citizens; that coming into fashion; trifling as it is, it is a symptom. All embrace and depart at 12. Fine doings! fine doings!

2d. Sick as Demogorgon; purpose to leave off watercresses with my bread. Dinner at John Sweetman's. Capt. Sweetman there. Has a great deal of the old school of popery in politics about him. Mr. Hutton and he argue for three hours, by Shrewsbury clock. Mr. Hutton victorious in the opinion of himself and all present, save his adversary. Huzza! Bed early.

3d. Go out to Gog to prepare his speech. Correct it abundantly. Dine with Gog, who fishes for compliments with the old bait; civilities to Mr. Hutton on his excellent pamphlet, &c. Mr. Hutton rises and throws a bucket full of flattery in Gog's face, who receives it with great affability. Mr. Hutton tells him that Dr. Ryan is a schoolboy to him, which Gog believes

religiously. Vain as the devil. Gog goes into a critical investigation of the merits of both speeches, and modestly insinuates the superiority of his own, to all which Mr. Hutton agrees. All fair! Mr. Hutton comes into town and writes twelve letters to different persons, enclosing copies of the proceedings of the 31st; all well written, and done very speedily. Mr. Hutton would make a good private secretary. Apropos! On the 31st, Mr. Hutton being at breakfast with the honorable George Knox, and talking with great asperity and vehemence, according to his custom, against the folly and wickedness of the Government, the following dialogue ensued:

Mr. Hutton. I wish to God, Knox, you were Secretary here.

Knox. I wish I was; will you be my private Secretary?

Mr. Hutton. That I will, most willingly.

Knox. Very well, remember.

Mr. Hutton. Remember.—*Exit Mr. Hutton.*

November 4, *Sunday.* Dine at Macdonnell's with United Irishmen. Tandy tells me the volunteers refused to parade round King William's statue, this being the birth day of that monarch; they have also abolished orange cockades. Bravo! A few of them met to-day as at an ordinary parade, and wore national (green) cockades. This is a striking proof of the change of men's sentiments, when "Our Glorious Deliverer" is so neglected. This is the first time the day has passed uncommemorated since the institution of volunteers. Huzza! Union and the People forever! Another thing—Sall and Potter, two of the most violent champions of Protestant ascendency in the corporation of Dublin, and mos tactive in carrying the late manifesto of that body against the Catholics, have lost their election; notwithstanding Mr. Sall brought in a copy of the said manifesto in a gilt frame, and displayed it to the Cyclops of his corporation. What is more, the man who comes in in his room is a United Irishman, one Binns. This is a very remarkable circumstance, for the Smith's corporation is one of the most bigoted in the city. Mr. Hutton exercised his franchise this week by voting for common councilmen among the Sadlers. Mr. Hutton a free Sadler, and invited to dine with the candidates, which he respectfully declines.

5th. Gunpowder Treason!

"This is the day, I speak it with sorrow,
"That we were all to've been blown up to-morrow." *Rochester.*

Mr. Hutton, on his return from the post-office this evening, where he had been to put in a letter to P. P. is startled by a vision of Guy Vaux, which appears to him at Alderman Hart's door. Mr. Hutton speaks Latin to the said vision, on which it proves to be a police man. Mr. Hutton diligently inspects the pantry, lest the Catholics might have conveyed combustibles therein, and so burn him and his innocent family in their beds. Wishes to have a fire engine in his bed chamber, for fear of accidents from these bloody, barbarous, and inhuman Papists.

9th *November*. At court. Wonderful to see the rapid change in the minds of the bar, on the Catholic question; almost every body favorable. Some for an immediate abolition of all penal laws; certainly the most magnanimous mode, and the wisest. All sorts of men, and especially lawyer Plunkett, take a pleasure in girding at Mr. Hutton, "*who takes at once all their seven points in his buckler, thus.*" Exceeding good laughing. Mr. Hutton called *Marat*. Sundry barristers apply to him for protection in the approaching rebellion. Lawyer Plunkett applies for Carton, which Mr. Hutton refuses, inasmuch as the Duke of Leinster is his friend, but offers him Curraghmore, the seat of the Marquis of Waterford. This Mr. Hutton does to have a rise out of Marcus Beresford, who is at his elbow listening. Great laughter thereat. The Committee charged with causing the non-consumption agreement against Bellingham beer. Mr. Hutton, at the risque of his life, asserts the said charge to be a falsehood. Valiant! All declare their satisfaction thereat. Every thing looks as well as possible. Huzza! Dine at home with Stokes, &c. Very pleasant and sober.

10th. Hear that government is very much embarrassed to know what to do. Toler has been sounding D. T. O'Brien, a rich and timid Catholic, of some consequence in the party; wished to frighten him, but failed in his attempt. Bon! Sir F. Blacquiere has been with T. Broughall, on the same plan, with the same success. Also, an anonymous personage with J. Sweetman. The Chancellor, we hear, talks big. If he attempts to use violent measures, I believe a war will be the inevitable consequence. My own conviction is, that Government must *concede*. Gog, Magog, and Warren, three leading Catholics, had rather be refused this session, in order, thoroughly, to rouse the spirit of the people. Right! I rely very much on the folly and

intemperance of Government for the complete emancipation of the country. Early and moderate concessions to the just demands of the nation may prevent mischief, but that is a degree of wisdom which Fitzgibbon never will be able to reach. My advice has been for the Catholics, at every refusal, to rise in their demands, like the ancient Sybil; which they seem determined to do. *No want of spirit apparent yet.* The Committee, under the new organization, is called for the 3d December. We have this day returns from twenty-five counties and all the great cities of Ireland, with a strong confidence that we shall have the remainder before the day of meeting. The circumstance, of the time being fixed, will probably bring in the out-lyers. We have got Kerry, in spite of Lord Kenmare. Mayo has been off and on three or four times, owing to the manœuvres of that rascal, Dennis Browne, (vide this Journal of Oct. 26, 27); now they seem stout again. The Connaught gentry, more valiant than wise, easily led, especially by a great man, or a great man's man. Bad! But they will mend of all that. Hope we shall have returns from Mayo, after all. If we do, a great victory! The Northern Whig Club have adopted the resolutions, which I sent to Sinclair, on the 29th ult. Halliday the only dissentient. I did not expect they would have passed; this is another proof of the gradual change of the public mind. Custine is said to have advanced so far in Flanders, that his retreat is cut off. A lie, I hope, like that about Dumourier. *Right or wrong, success to the French; they are fighting our battles, and if they fail, adieu to liberty in Ireland, for one century!* Apropos of fighting! Mr. Hutton has bought a fine sword, of which he is as vain as the devil; intends to sleep on it to night. *Quere,* May he not wear it in the court of chancery, with his wig and gown, to edify Lord Fitzgibbon? Mr. Hutton proposes to make it the pattern sword for his regiment, when he has one.

11th, *Sunday.* George Knox shows me a memorandum or abstract of Lord Abercorn's answer to his letter on the subject of Gog's famous plan for turning out the Ministers here, (vide *journal,* &c.) Lord Abercorn quite wild; his idea is that the Catholics should renounce their present system, for the *chance* of what he would do for them. Damned kind! Mr. Hutton observes, coolly, that his Lordship does not bid high enough, and so the negotiation ends; Knox declaring himself of Mr. Hutton's opinion.

12th. At Gog's to prepare papers, viz: petition to the King, petition to Parliament, address to the nation, &c. Hear a report that Foster is afraid of being assassinated. The rascal deserves it, if any thing can justify assassination. Hard at work.

13th. A plot in Lower Ormond against the committee. The Tolers, Pretties, and other great landholders there, are compelling their tenants to sign some paper adverse to the Catholic claims. One priest, Mr. White, has the courage to refuse. Write a letter from the Sub-Committee, applauding him. Major and Secretary Hobart has sent for Dr. Troy, to pump him; talks a great deal of stuff, that Government is determined to resist all violence; that Government in England will support them; that we have not the North, save only Belfast, &c. Sad stuff! By laying such stress upon the North, he is exposing his own weak side, and, of course, pointing out the best place for us to direct our batteries. Please God, the hint shall not be lost. We may work the major yet. Busy at the petition, &c.

14th. All the morning at work. Dine in town, at R. Dillon's. After dinner, turn the discourse to the probability of raising a new corps of volunteers. Resolve that the party shall meet on Saturday next, to devise a plan. All provoked at an unnecessary affront the Dublin corps received last Sunday; an officer of the regulars took away a drummer, belonging to his regiment, whom the volunteers had hired for the day, and the poor fellow has been sentenced to receive two hundred lashes. Strange policy of Government, in such a time as this, to chuse to pick a quarrel with the volunteers! Trifling as this circumstance is, it will assist in laying the foundation for a corps, which may vex Government hereafter. Return to Mount Jerome. Propose to Gog to go to some expense in fitting up the room for the meeting of the committee, as it will give the country delegates a high idea of their own consequence, and the importance of the business, when they see every thing respectable and handsome prepared for their reception. All fair!

15th. Hear, to-day, that Ponsonby is come over. If it be so, a great point. Hard at work.

16th. Hear that the Castle-men say, that our address to the King, if we persist in that idea, will embarrass his Majesty—The devil it will! And who doubts it, or who cares? We will address him, please God, and let him refuse it, if he pleases.

Better that his Sacred Majesty should be embarrassed, than a nation kept in slavery. More and more at work.

17th. In town, at the Sub-committee. Read the intended address to the King. Very much liked, even by some of our timid people. Mr. Hutton very well pleased thereat. Gog also pleased. Compliments Mr. Hutton, and says that he (Mr. Hutton) has given the tone to all the Catholic politics; which Mr. Hutton, with all that amiable modesty which eminently adorns him, and gives a beautiful gloss to all his splendid actions, denies, and says, with a becoming diffidence, that if he has any merit, it was only in seeing their true interest a little earlier than some of themselves, and that it is their own good understandings, and not his arguments, that have set them on the right scent. This is partly true; and, at any rate, it is pretty in Mr. Hutton. It would not be for that gentleman's advantage to be thought wiser than Gog. Much better to stand behind the curtain and advise him. Mr. Hutton not anxious to appear on the canvass, provided the business be done, and if any thing serious should ensue, he will find his own level. If he deserves to rise, he will probably rise; if not, he cannot help it: "*Tis but in vain for soldiers to complain.*" Spend the evening at home, with my innocent family. After all, home is home.—I had like to forget. Attended a meeting, for the purpose of raising a volunteer corps: Present, Rowan, chairman; Tandy, James Tandy, Dowling, Bacon, Bond, Warren, Magog, and Mr. Hutton, Secretary. Vote 1000 men in ten companies; cheap uniform, of coarse blue cloth, ticken trowsers, and felt hats. Not to meddle with the existing corps, unless they choose to join us, in which case they must adopt our plan, principles, and regimentals. If this takes, it will vex the Castle, and they may not like to come and take our drum from us. Bond thinks the ci-devant Merchant Corps will present us with two field pieces. Huzza! Huzza!

18*th, Sunday.* Mt. Jerome again. Dinner with J. Plunkett, of Roscommon, and J. Jos. McDonnel, of Mayo. Conversation right good. The Country Catholics I think will *stand fire.* All seem stout. Mayo has returned, in spite of Dennis Browne, who is as vexed as the Devil, and cannot help himself. Huzza! Drink like a fish till past twelve. *God bless every body.* Embrace the Connaught men, and go to bed as drunk as a Lord. It is downright scandalous to see in this, and other journals, how

often that occurrence takes place, yet I call myself a sober man!

19th. R. Burke at Mt. Jerome; stays five hours; very foolish. Proposes that the Committee, when they meet, shall not petition, but address the King, to complain of the *Grand Juries*. Nonsense! What can the King do to the Grand Juries? Makes a poke at Gog relative to his being continued agent to the Catholics. No beating him out of that ground. Gog maintains an obstinate silence. Burke very superficial; affects great mystery and reserve; says Grattan is only trained to local politics, but he himself is trained to general politics, &c. Modest and pretty!

20th November. Mr. O'Beirne, of county Leitrim, a sensible man. Gog takes great pains to put him up to Catholic affairs, and does it extremely well. Gog lucky to-day; never lets an opportunity pass to convert a country delegate—which answers two ends; it informs them, and gives him an influence over the country gentlemen. O'Beirne says the common people are up in high spirits, and anxious for the event. Bravo! Better have the peasantry of one county than twenty members of Parliament. Gog seems to-day disposed for all manner of treason and mischief; separation of the countries, &c.; a republic, &c.; is of opinion this will not end without blows, and says he for one is ready. Is he? Mr. Hutton quite prepared, having nothing to lose. Hard at work on the appeal to the people; some strong attacks on the Grand Juries, &c. Dumourier has beaten the Austrians at Jemmape, and Mons and Tournay are the fruits of his victory. Bravo! Come to town to meet the committee for framing the new corps. The whole evening spent in settling the uniform, which is at last fixed to be that of the —*Garde Nationale*. Is that quite wise? Who cares? The parties do not seem quite hearty in the business, and it is likely, after all, the corps will come to nothing. This night fifty-four members proposed; the Protestants huffed that Mr. Byrne's sons are not of the number; the Catholics that more of Napper Tandy's friends do not come forward. This does not look very well. Mr. Hutton a little disgusted. No body universally, and at all times right, except that truly spirited and patriotic character***

Hiatus for two months.

LETTERS DURING THE YEAR 1792.

Extract of a letter of Richard Burke to the Catholic Sub-committee, dated 17th June, 1792.

"The transactions of last winter, on the most undoubted information, have made no impression whatsoever, to the disadvantage of the Catholics, on the English Government, whilst the authority of their adversaries is diminished. The Irish Government have remonstrated in the strongest manner against the further interference of the English Government, and have even insisted, as a right, that no communication shall be held with the Catholics, except through their medium. In order to enforce this demand, they have studiously exaggerated the discontents of the ruling Protestants, and have urged the difficulty, if not impossibility, of carrying on the Government on any principle to which they are decidedly adverse. The means they possess to embarrass Government by the possession of the whole state, are held out as an insuperable obstacle, and the English Ministry are threatened with the entire responsibility of the confusion which they pretend to foresee, in case that Government should persist in pressing a measure in favor of the Catholics against the general sense of the great parliamentary interests. Such are the arguments, or rather the menaces, which have been employed on the part of the Irish Government to prevent that spirit of just and liberal policy which has taken place in England, from finding its way into Ireland.

"The judgment, the desires, the power, and the threats of all the great interests who have ruled Ireland for one hundred years, combined and speaking through the medium of its Government, must be wholly disregarded, and set at defiance, before the English Government can take any decided, ostensible part in the Catholic emancipation.

"It would, say they, be absurd in Government to risque its security by discontenting the great mass of the Protestant interest, for the sake of a people who have no real power, either to embarrass Government or to support it. The Catholics, however numerous, must be considered as a loose, disorderly multitude, without unanimity or subordination, and of no real conse-

quence. That long habits of depression on the one side, and the exclusive exercise of all civil functions on the other, have given the Protestants a decided superiority in vigor and efficiency. That the demands of the Catholics do not proceed from the general sense of oppression pervading the people at large, but are in fact only the discontents of a few; and that, however the Catholics may appear to embody and assume a menacing aspect, they will return into their former state of passive tranquillity, the moment the Irish Government begin to exert themselves; the Catholics having nothing but themselves to depend upon. In a word, the real political strength and power of Ireland reside in the Protestants essentially, and, against the sense thereof, it is in vain for any English Minister to contend.

"The Catholics may rely upon it, that no obstacle whatsoever to their emancipation, has or will come from England. But he cannot flatter himself, at the present moment, though he does not altogether despair of it, that the English Government will take any *active* part in favor of the Catholics. On their ability to cope with the Protestant ascendency, every thing turns: for, if they be not able, it would scarcely be in the power of the English Government to improve their situation, without recurring to direct force; which it would be vain for the Catholics to expect.

"If M. O. and his party be too much for the Catholics, the business is at an end. They have nothing to do but to recommend themselves as well as they can to the ruling party; a policy not unworthy the consideration of judicious men, and would probably be recommended by many persons of weight and condition. It certainly has its advantages, and if the Catholics gain nothing, they will lose nothing by it.

"On intimidating the Catholics, the Irish Government chiefly rely. But though they may threaten, they will not strike: for they must use the power of the . . . . . which will not be granted to them for such a purpose."

Answer to Mr. Richard Burke, (written by my father.)

Sir: The Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland have been favored with your letter, dated the 17th June last. From that letter the committee learns, with very great regret, that,

notwithstanding your zeal and exertions in their behalf, the enemies to the emancipation of the Catholics, have, for the present, in a great degree succeeded; that the Government here have remonstrated in the strongest manner, against the further interference of the English Ministers, and have even insisted as a right, that no communication should be held with us, except through the medium of themselves; and that menaces have been used, it should seem successfully, to quell the spirit of just and liberal policy, which has taken place in England, by threatening Ministers there with the entire responsibility of the confusion, which our administration pretends to foresee, should they persist in pressing a measure in favor of the Catholics, against the general sense of the great parliamentary interests. It is, however, some consolation to the committee that you desire us to rely upon it, that no obstacle whatever to our emancipation, has or will come from the part of Government in England, whose liberality towards us we shall ever remember with gratitude and affection.

Among the variety of disagreeable consequences resulting from the success of our adversaries in procuring this, at least, neutrality of the British Ministers, it is not the least prejudicial to our cause, nor mortifying to our feelings, that it prevents us from deriving the advantages which would, under more favorable circumstances, result from your personal efforts. We regret to find by your letter, that the determination of Ministers in England is such as to render all further application to them useless, at least until, by our own exertions, we may become an object of sufficient magnitude, again to attract their attention.

The committee is sensible of the justice of your observations on their present state and future conduct. We know that imputations have been often thrown out, as if we should not speak the sense of the whole Catholic people. We have repeatedly felt the force of that objection, and several of our body have, in discourse with you, often stated the inconvenience, and our determination to adopt such measures as might prevent the possibility of such imputations arising in future. We know it will give you great pleasure to hear, as it does us to be able to inform you, that such measures have been unremittingly and successfully pursued since your departure, and are now so far advanced as to be very near completion. We have strong hopes that the

event of these measures will be such as to change the present determination of the British Minister, to remove the restraint laid on them by our enemies here, and to enable them to follow the liberal dictates of their hearts, by interfering actively to forward our emancipation.

If, as we have every reason to expect, the plan we meditate proves successful, we shall again be enabled to serve and to gratify ourselves, by calling into action the zeal and ability of our friends, in the number of which, and amongst the foremost, the Sub-committee will ever with pride, gratitude, and affection, record the name of Mr. Burke. In the mean time, and during this suspension of negotiations at your side of the water, the committee are persuaded that, if any occurrence takes place, which may influence their concerns, you will give them such information as your time and other avocations may admit.

Note of Mr. Grattan.

DEAR SIR: I was favored with your letter, and much informed by the correspondence. I'll take care to return the papers in a few posts, with many thanks. I am, dear sir, your most humble servant,

H. GRATTAN.

Letters from Colonel Barry to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq.

The 39th regiment is to be reviewed Tuesday, at 10 o'clock, which notice I give you, if you wish to see us. I have every reason to believe the independent lieutenancies will be immediately given away. From hence I shall go to Lord Welles, to acquaint him with this, if his Lordship will do any thing for our friend Russell. Yours, sincerely.

H. BARRY.

Great Longford street, Sunday, May 8th.

MY DEAR SIR: Since receiving your letter of the 7th, my only consideration has been, in what manner it would be best for me

to aim at accomplishing your wish; and this, after much thought, I am of opinion is most likely to be done by deferring my application to Lord Rawdon till my return to England; which will be either the end of next month, or the beginning of July, when I can, to more advantage, personally prefer it, and state to his Lordship the talents you possess, the experience in public affairs which you have acquired, and the real use to which those qualities would apply. His Lordship's desire to serve such a man, I cannot doubt; but his present ability, or his not having some other gentleman in the situation you aim at, are points on which I must confess I have many fears, as has My Lady Granard, with whom I have taken the liberty of generally consulting on the subject. To-morrow I go for Galway, to join my regiment; but there, and everywhere, you will find me your ready and faithful servant,

H. BARRY.

Castle Forbes, May 11th, 1792.

My Dear Sir: Having, from Castle Forbes, fully answered your letter, I shall say no more on its interesting subject, but proceed to that of this. Mr. Harman, member for the county of Longford, being created a Peer, an election for one in his room must shortly take place. He puts up Mr. Barnes Harman, a relation of his own, and My Lord Granard opposes to him Mr. Sandys, whom if you can serve, either by your influence in Dublin, or writing, it will certainly be an acceptable thing to the party you act with. If you called on Lady Moira with this, she will inform you of all circumstances, and it would be best, in whatever you do, to take her Ladyship's opinions, which I have, on all occasions, found to be the best I could adopt. It is needless to say this is a secret letter. I am not without hopes that something for the present may be settled for you by the party you act with, on this side of the water, and in a manner you would approve. I mentioned it, and the great use you are of, to Lord Granard. If I did wrong, zeal was the cause, and that you will pardon to your faithful servant,

H. BARRY.

Galway, May 14th, 1792.

P. S. You may talk freely with Lady Moira, and open to her your mind and situation. It would be wise.

My Dear Tone: You would have heard from me sooner, if I had had any thing pleasant or useful to impart. Your wishes are so much mine, that I can never neglect them. On getting here, I laid your letters before Lord Rawdon, who was much pleased with their style and sentiments, but cannot at present avail himself of the talents of their writer, as he has already with him a gentleman in the line it was your object to be placed in. I think it likely his Lordship will be in Dublin soon: and, in that case, as you are well known at Moira House, why not call when he is there? I will write, either to Lady Moira or Lady Granard, to make your introduction pleasant. As you kindly take an interest both in Russell and myself, you will be pleased to hear our good friend Colonel Knox is on his passage home. In politics there is at this period nothing agreeable. The poor Poles, and the distracted French, I feel for them, as I am sure you do. Yours, most truly.

H. BARRY.

Little Ryder street, Aug. 10th, 1792.

My Dear Sir: Really I have been so much hurried of late, as not to have had time to thank you for your very kind, long, full, and informing letter of the 5th past, which by the bye, did not get to me till the 27th. I find, by a letter from Lord Rawdon, that he left Donnington yesterday, and proceeded for your kingdom. I know the respect which you justly entertain for his Lordship's abilities and character; a respect which makes you naturally wish to be known to him. If you call at Moira House on Lady Granard, with my respects, I can assure you she will receive you very kindly, and give you as favorable an introduction as you could wish, to her brother. If you think fit, you may show this letter to her Ladyship. Colonel Knox, of whom you have so often heard Russell and myself speak, is just returned from India; but as he is not yet tired with voyaging, we proceed together, on Tuesday next, to make the tour of Holland, which we shall conclude by going to Brussels, where, if I pick up any essential news, or political information, you shall have what I so get. I expect to be back here by the end of this, or beginning of next month. With every sentiment of true esteem, I am your obliged and faithful servant,

H. BARRY.

Little Ryder street, Sept. 7th, 1792.

My Dear Tone: I have just been with Lord Rawdon, who came yesterday to town. I showed him your last letter, and he bid me say he thinks soon to be in Ireland, where he will wish to see you. Should his Lordship be unexpectedly hindered in this intention, it will be from causes which may make him more desire an interview; but, in that case, you shall hear from me again. It is needless to add, this is a secret letter. To-morrow I go with Colonel Knox to Brussels, but hope to be back in four or five weeks.—Yours, truly,

H. BARRY.

Little Ryder street, Sept. 12, 1792.

My Dear Sir: Owing to my having remained on the continent longer than I intended when I wrote last, I had not the pleasure of yours of the 7th ult. till three days since, as it was not forwarded till there was certainty of my return; which accounts for my not having sooner thanked you for the clear and interesting information which you have kindly afforded me. I more than think the astonishing success of France must have a general effect in meliorating all the European Governments. Ireland, which has as many grievances to be redressed as any other country, will, no doubt, come into her *peaceable* share of advantages. Your friends, the Roman Catholics, (I might call them my friends, since no man has been more anxious to advance their just cause,) must see this, and the certainty of *final* success must induce them to *present* tranquillity. Both here and with you, Government must, and that soon, yield much to the general wish of the people, which is becoming so unanimous and manifest that it cannot long be withstood; so that there seems no other mode of preserving the British constitution but by purifying its practice, and reverting to its elementary principles. In this, my friend, we have a great advantage over France. She was without a constitution, and had no guides whatsoever to direct her in the road to freedom, and hence, the unhappy deviations and excesses which have perplexed and marked her journey; but, surely, that must now cease, as she is within view of the city. I am not one of those (of whom there are many, both from ignorance and design,) who confound the means with the end, and, because they find the first incidentally bad, con-

clude that the last must be radically vicious. I detest cruelty, (which, by the way, is inseparable from despotism,) but I so love liberty, as to think it cannot be obtained by a nation at too high a price. And had the loss and calamities in France been treble what they were, the freedom of twenty-four millions of human beings, and that of their posterity, would not have been dearly purchased. Such are, and ever have been, my sentiments on this interesting subject. I am sure they concur with yours, and I only state them to prove, that when I speak, as now, for *firm moderation*, (no solecism this, I hope,) it is from the conviction that it is not only a safe but a certain way of obtaining the object. The wish you kindly have, and it is mutual, for us to meet, I now hope will be soon accomplished, as it is likely some private business will call me to Ireland about Christmas, before when I must pass some time with Lord Rawdon, at Donnington, whom I have not had the satisfaction to see since my last, and with whom I am impatient to hold much conversation, respecting your details of public affairs.

Esteem me ever your obliged and faithful servant,

H. BARRY.

Little Ryder street, Nov. 26th, 1792.

Letter from Lady Moira, Countess of Huntingdon, (mother of the present Marquis of Hastings,) to Wm. Todd Jones, Esq.

Lord Moira* will be happy to see you, Mr. Tone, and Mr. Russell, to-morrow, to dinner, and, as you know I relish good sense in whatever drapery it presents itself, of religion or party, I need not add I shall be glad to see one person, whom I know to be sensible and pleasant, and another, whom I have heard from a very good judge (my friend Col. Barry) to be equally so. As to yourself, you know I have been amazed with your eccentricities from the time you were three feet high. As for making a *democrat* of me, that, you must be persuaded, is a fruitless hope: for, to keep my *Manche* and Clarence arms, it is more probable I should turn Amazon, and, having the blood of Hugh Capet in my veins, am, from nature, a firm *Aristocrat*.

*Father of the present Marquis of Hastings.

Yet, I like to hear and see persons of different sentiments; whatever produces reflection occupies the mind, and when the fervor of hope and the illusions of fancy are past and gone by elapse of years, the thoughts require a variety of social intercourse with varying sentiments, to keep off that precise obstinacy too apt to infect advanced life. I am not a convertible, but a rational being. From that disposition, and my friendship for you, I shall always preach to you not to be hanged for treasonable practices; at the same time, knowing of how little consequence advice is, unless it suits the inclination of the person who receives it, I flatter myself it will have that weight with you, that you will consider that it is the worst use a man can put his carcase to, by the aid of his mind.—Company are waiting for me in the drawing room, therefore do excuse the haste of your friend, in merely subscribing E. M. H. &c. &c. &c.

Letter from Lord Rawdon to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq.

Dear Sir: I beg to trouble you with the enclosed for Lady Moira, and repeating my profession how happy I shall be if circumstances may, at any time, empower me to solicit the aid of your abilities, I have the honor to remain your most obedient servant, RAWDON.

Extracts of letters from the United Irishmen of Belfast, to T. W. Tone, Esq.

Dear Sir: I have been favored with both your letters, and have communicated them to our society, and also to your more particular acquaintances. I am happy to have it in my power to inform you that you have been misinformed respecting the differences that arose in our society, on the adoption of the test. It never was, at any time, deadly to our common hopes or to our common interest. The gentlemen who disliked it, parted with us in good humour, and have since formed a third society, who have adopted our declaration unanimously. Our principles are so well founded, and have taken such firm root, that no temporary difference can be in the least injurious to our cause. With

respect to the test, I differ from you, and am firmly convinced in my own mind of the necessity of one. I consider it as a solemn oath, as a religious engagement, in which we pledge ourselves, in the presence of God, to our country. We have heard of villains engaging themselves to each other by an oath, but what were their oaths? They were imprecations. We are engaged in a new business, more serious than any that ever engaged Irishmen; and can we commence it too seriously? The man who would sign our declaration, but refuse to swear to adhere to its engagements, I despise; but he who doubts respecting the construction of the phraseology of the oath, I respect. Take it on your own ground, and you will find that we cannot be bound sufficiently by a sense of common wrongs and injuries. Our wrongs and injuries are, in many respects, dissimilar; we are composed of men in different situations, and whose views have hitherto been directed to different objects.

With respect to an oath being a stumbling block to admission, I am persuaded that it is better some should stumble at the threshhold, than in our chambers. Let us look to volunteering; it was taken up by the same men who take up the present business—by the middle class; the great strenuously opposed it for a while; yet, when matters came to a crisis, they abandoned the cause in which they were engaged. Let us not clog our steps at this early period with the backwardness of lukewarm men. They cannot assist us.

I admit the oath is not as simple as it might be, but it contains no idea but what perfectly corresponds with our declaration. The reason for our taking it was not merely to satisfy our Catholic brethren, but to give them an answer to any tool of Government who might say we were not serious. In the present state of affairs, the oath needs no amendment; for them that do not like it, may enter the third society. We are sufficiently numerous for an assembly of men, who have not been accustomed to the necessary order which takes place in a deliberative body; I would not wish to see us more numerous, and an additional society would produce a better effect.

We all consider ourselves obliged by the warm interest you take in our welfare, and are persuaded that it was your anxiety which induced you to caution us so earnestly against the test;

but our situation being so different from what you were led to believe, I am persuaded you will agree that we should remain as we are. R. S.

26*th Jan.* 1792.

By last night's post, intelligence came that MM. Butler and Tandy had been ordered into the custody of the sergeant-at-arms. As it may be my fate, I must beg the favor of you to give me the earliest intelligence, if such an order should take place. We are beginning to cool after the engagement at the town meeting. Our cause gains ground but slowly. We are going to republish the address of the General Committee of the Catholics to the Protestants, with a joint address prefixed by our three societies here. I think it will have an excellent effect.

R. S.

24*th Feb.* 1792.

BELFAST, 7*th April*, 1792.

SIR: Impressed with the most lively sense of your manifold exertions in the cause of emancipating the Catholics of this kingdom from their degraded situation, it is with peculiar pleasure I transmit you the enclosed resolutions of the Catholics of this town, and at the same time do myself the honor of thanking you, individually, for your unwearied endeavors to obtain an adequate representation of all the people of this kingdom in parliament. Your efforts, aided by the voice of millions, will, in a short time, prevail. The sun of superstition and intolerance is set; the die is cast, and Ireland will be free. Persevere then, sir, in a cause so noble and praiseworthy; it is the cause of suffering millions, and the cause of reason; it is the cause of God, who has finally doomed that Ireland shall be reckoned amongst the nations of the earth.

I am, sir, with the greatest respect,

Your very obedient humble servant,

JAMES MOONEY.

To Mr. Mooney, Chairman of the Catholics of Belfast.

SIR: I request you will offer to your fellow-citizens, the Catholics of Belfast, my thanks for the honor which they have done me, by noticing my humble endeavors in their cause. I can only regret that these endeavors fell so infinitely short of my zeal, and of the magnitude and importance of the question.

It is with singular satisfaction that I behold the progress, rapid beyond my most sanguine hopes, which Catholic emancipation is making in the public mind. What was your situation, even six months since? And what is it now? Let the comparison excite you to a steady perseverance in that line of conduct which has, instantaneously it may be said, accomplished so great a change. Be temperate, be spirited, and be firm; you must be successful.

I beg you will accept my thanks for the polite manner in which you have communicated the resolutions to me.

I am, &c.

T. W. TONE.

April 14th, 1792.

Note of the Editor.—A number of letters follow from that date to that of the meeting of the Catholic Grand Committee, in the beginning of December. They all recount the rapid progress of the Society in the North, the gradual conversion of the Presbyterian population, from principles of bigotry, persecution, and separation, to those of union and reform; the efforts of some of the Aristocracy to oppose them, and the decline of their influence, even in their own neighborhood; and request from him occasional squibs, replies, essays, &c.

DEAR SIR: At the request of Mr. Teeling, who is a delegate from the Roman Catholics of this county, a number of us met him to day at the Donegal Arms. An idea had been started by Dr. Ryan, that the Catholics should confine their petition to the elective franchise for counties, and Teeling wished to know our sentiments on that point in Belfast. We were decidedly of opinion that the petition of the Catholics ought not to be confined in any degree, but extended to every grievance. A doubt was then started by Teeling, that, as the Catholic delegates were instructed only on two points, they ought to confine themselves to

these points alone, elective franchise and trial by jury. A debate ensued, the result of which was, that the Catholic delegates should frame a petition in general terms, similar to the Belfast petition for the removal of every grievance, and refer it back to their constituents for their approbation, and then bring it forward, in the name of the Catholics of Ireland. We were unanimously of opinion that this ought to be the line pursued by the Catholic delegates, and, as it will be proposed by Teeling, I thought I could not do less than acquaint you of it, that the Catholics may be prepared on the question. I am sure it is right.

We are going on here with boots of seven leagues, and will soon be at liberty and equality. We desired citizen Teeling to assure his brother delegates, that they may depend on a petition from the county of Antrim, and that the freeholders will instruct their representatives to support the Catholic petition.

R. S.

BELFAST, 21*st Nov.* 1792.

DEAR TONE: It gives us much pleasure to find you are going on so well; you really manage things wonderfully, considering that you are Papists, and, of course, wicked and ignorant scoundrels.

As to the spirit and determination of our friends in Dublin, we expected much, and we are not disappointed. In general throughout Ireland, you have spoken well too; but I have to remark to you, from myself, that, if we are to judge by their newspapers, the people of Cork, Galway, Limerick, and Waterford, are by no means friendly to the doctrine of the people's sovereignty. I do not blame them for not joining us in hallooing up the French, for there are many things in their conduct, that, under all circumstances of the case, cannot be very acceptable to an Irish Catholic. But I blame them, severely blame them, for attacking the *principle*, and I fear they are far behind you, and by no means ripe yet. It is, however, to be understood that I speak under correction, on a point I do not so well know, as him to whom I write.

You can form no conception of the rapid progress of union here, and I do assure you we are farther forward, than even I

expected we should have been in a twelvemonth. The universal question throughout the country is, When do we begin? do we refuse hearth money, or tythes first?"

As to a petition in your favor, it will go from Belfast, *a literal copy* of that which Mr. Latouche kicked out; and I believe by January, we are perfectly safe in calling a meeting of the country Antrim; I am taking some steps to prepare for it. I should imagine the petition from Antrim, will be approving your conduct, and praying redress generally. I will write to you about the county Down in a few days. Luke Teeling, one of the county members to your committee, dines here to-morrow with us, in order to receive instructions; aye, to receive instructions, for he says he will represent the county faithfully.

SAMUEL NEILSON.

DEAR FELLOW-SLAVE: At a full meeting of the select this evening, the answer was immediately agreed to, and I was ordered to forward it to you by this post. Take notice, I wrote it down word by word, at the desire of the meeting, and we are all equally warm and decided in the measure. Russell was present, and will, on Sunday, take up with him resolutions from our societies to this effect. We saw yours to the *Tanner*. Our messengers will let you know our whole mind, and be so commonsensical as to deduct nothing from those facts he may tell you.

Your's, very truly, SAMUEL NEILSON.

BELFAST, 29*th November*, 1792.

The following are the opinions of some individuals in Belfast, respecting the proceedings of the Catholic Committee, when assembled in Dublin:—

1st. We are humbly of opinion, that an application for any thing specific from the Catholic body would tend to retard that radical reform we all so much desire, because we fear that Government, alarmed as they are at present, will, by a gradual and pitiful extension of privilege to that much oppressed body, operate a division amongst Irishmen, in order to retard the general freedom of Ireland.

2d. We are much alarmed at the information we have heard that the Catholics mean to frame a timid petition as fast as possible, and immediately to break up, lest they should give a handle to the enemies of emancipation by an apparent permanence. This timidity alarms us much, because we had formed the highest expectations from a full and fair representation of three-fourths of our countrymen; and we can hardly conceive it possible that a body so fairly chosen, so respectable, so constitutional, and organized with so much trouble, should run away, after framing a trimming petition, to a body who are well known to be determined against that petition.

3d. In the present glorious era, we do expect that our Catholic countrymen have too high a value for the rights of man to be satisfied with any thing short of them, the more so, as their Protestant brethren and fellow-citizens are determined to aid in the general recovery of those rights for all Irishmen.

Actuated by these sentiments, our wish and desire is, that the Catholics should state their grievances to Parliament, and that the prayer of their petition should be for general redress.

The few inhabitants of Belfast who hereby communicate the foregoing opinions, submit them with much deference and confidence to their brother Tone, for his own and friends' serious consideration.

We almost forgot to state, what we conceive to be highly important, namely: that an adjournment, after framing the petition, would be a moderate, useful, and necessary line of conduct.

Signed, by order,

WM. M'CLEERY, *Chairman.*

DEAR FELLOW-SLAVE: I do command you to give me, nightly, an abstract of the proceedings of the Convention. I can assure you it is essentially necessary to all our interests, and insist on it. Why did you not answer mine of Thursday?—Tell Russell his documents are necessarily detained to to-morrow. We are extremely anxious to hear every iota of your proceedings, as we only wait for the result of them to frame our plan of action. Yours.

S. NEILSON.

BELFAST, 3*d Dec.* 1792.

SLAVE: You have not done as I should have expected. You have, for five days of the most interesting crisis, kept us, your constituents, in the dark. We will never forgive you. We all waited, and searched, and labored, to hear news from our friends. Then two nights—but not a word. The enemies have had abundance. Charges the most heinous are echoed against the Catholics, and we have no means of refuting them, thanks to our faithful representative.

S. NEILSON.

NOTES AND MEMORANDUMS,

Taken during the Sittings of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, December, 1792.

DECEMBER 3, 1792.

The roll of delegates being read by the Secretary, Mr. Edward Byrne was unanimously called to take the chair. The following gentlemen were then nominated to take the chair, in succession, from day to day: Sir T. French, Mr. Barnwall, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, Mr. Coppinger, and Mr. Rivers.

1. *Resolved, unanimously,* That the Catholic peers, prelates, and delegates, chosen by the people, are the only power competent to speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland.

2. *Resolved, unanimously,* That a petition be presented to his Majesty, stating our grievances, and praying relief.

3. *Ordered,* That the Sub-committee do prepare and bring in the same.

And the Sub-committee having reported accordingly,

4. *Resolved, unanimously,* That the said report be now received and read.

And, the same being read,

5. *Resolved, unanimously,* That this meeting do now resolve itself into a committee, to take the same into consideration.

In Committee, Mr. Barnwall in the Chair, The petition being read, paragraph by paragraph,

The 1st paragraph was agreed to unanimously, 2d do., 3d do., 4th do., 5th do., 6th do., 7th do., 8th do., 9th do., 10th do., 11th do., and 12th do.

Some of these were previously amended, and the 13th was postponed for further consideration.

Mr. Byrne having again taken the chair, and Mr. Barnwall having reported progress, begged leave to sit again, which being granted, the Committee adjourned till 11 o'clock to-morrow.

Notes taken during the Debate, on slips of paper.

Returns read. Mr. Byrne called, unanimously, to the chair, on motion of Mr. Pallas. Mr. Braughall moves that the following gentlemen be chosen chairmen, in succession, Sir T. French, Messrs. Barnwall, Devereux, Bellew, Coppinger, and Rivers. *Unanimous.*

Devereux. That this meeting, as now constituted, with the peers and prelates, are the only organ competent to speak the sense of the Catholic body.

Lynch. To know whether the Committee is to expire next July, or whether this is the beginning of a new one.

Keogh. Not to be postponed to the Committee struck for that purpose. No delay.

M'Kenna. In support of Lynch. Wishes to say "are competent to," not "only organ competent to," &c.

Sweetman. Unanimity above all. If Sub-committee are mistaken in circular letter, to be rectified by the great body of Catholics now represented.

Question. *Unanimous.*

M'Comyn. That a petition to his Majesty be now prepared, stating our grievances, and praying relief.

Question. *Unanimous.*

Keogh. That a Committee be ordered to prepare and bring in the same, and that said Committee do consist of the present Sub-committee.

Question. *Unanimous.*

That the same be received. Question. *Unanimous.* That the same be read. Question. *Unanimous.*

Petition read.

That this meeting resolve itself into a Committee to consider the same. *Unanimous.*

In Committee. Mr. Barnwall in the chair. That it be read paragraph by paragraph.

1st paragraph, *unanimous*, 2d *do.*, 3d *do.*, 4th *do.*, 5th *do.*, 6th, "tyrannical" objected to, "grievous and oppressive" substituted. "Unjust" objected to, "unwarrantable" substituted. As amended; *unanimous*. 7th paragraph, *unanimous*, 8th *do.*, 9th *do.*, 10th *do.*, 11th *do.* and 12th *do.* 13th paragraph objected to by *Luke Teeling;* proposes prayer for *general* relief. I write to Gog to press it. *Teeling* very well. *M'Kenna*, for postponement. *J. J. M'Donnell* for *Teeling*.

DECEMBER 4, 1792.

Christopher Bellew in the chair.

1. *Resolved*, That the meeting do resolve itself into a committee, to take into further consideration the 13th paragraph of the petition.

2. *Resolved*, That the chairman do now leave the chair.

In Committee. Dennis T. O'Brien in the chair.

An amendment being proposed and agreed to,

3. *Resolved, unanimously*, That this paragraph, thus amended, do stand a part of this petition.

The petition being now read,

4. *Resolved*, That the chairman do now report to the General Committee.

Christopher Bellew in the chair. Mr. O'Brien reports the petition from the Committee. No amendment being then proposed or received,

5. *Resolved, unanimously*, That the petition, now read, do stand the petition of the Catholics of Ireland.

A preamble being then proposed,

6. *Resolved*, That the same do stand the preamble to the petition of the Catholics of Ireland.

7. *Resolved*, That the petition be engrossed.

8. *Resolved*, That the signatures of the delegates, and the places they represent, be affixed to the petition, before the mode of transmitting it to his Majesty be decided on.

9. *Resolved*, That the secretary do call over the roll of delegates, on Thursday next, at 11 o'clock.

10. *Resolved*, That this meeting do now adjourn to 11 o'clock to-morrow, punctually.

Notes on the Debate.

Bellew in the chair. Moved, by Fitzgerald, that no man be allowed to speak twice on the question, unless he be called upon to explain. Overruled.

In committee. D. T. O'Brien in the chair. Moved by *Teeling*, to generalize the prayer of the petition. Co-extension of demands, between Catholics and Belfast, proof of intimate union. To compound, would be a desertion of our duty. Golden opportunity; union amongst ourselves; Dissenters with us, England, Scotland liberal, France. No danger of violence. What to do in case of refusal? Tell our constituents, they, and not this body, will determine. Take the sense of the people, and see what they will have done. (Plaudits.)

M'Neven Pro! Leaders not binding on the great body of the Catholics. (Great plaudits; his speech has been since published.)

Devlin Pro! Necessary to cultivate the people. Strength only in numbers. Not desert our just claims.

McKenna Pro! Agrees that we are not bound to two things only by circular letter.

Committee report petition; *C. Bellew in the Chair.*

Keogh. To change one or two words; Privileges for "Rights of Citizens."

Lynch. To change Citizens; (right;) *Rochford*, ditto, (Loyal.) *Lynch* again. (Loyal, too much).

Keogh. Amendments. Loyalty and attachment to the three Estates, the sentiment of the meeting. Disdain to repel charges. "Rights *and privileges* of a *free* constitution."

Lynch. Objects to *free.* Proposes, "This constitution."

M'Kenna. A long eulogy on the Constitution. (No plaudits.)

Lynch. Time enough to praise when we come to enjoy it.

M'Kenna. We are not slaves.

Fitzgerald. The North and us have different views.

Keogh. Proves that "we are slaves," from taxation, laws, bearing arms, &c. We want no Republic; difference between that and a limited monarchy not worth a contest. Question might have been carried last night unanimously, but delayed to secure consistency.

Notes on slips of paper. Keogh. Ask what you will, and you get it; loyalty of poor Irish; the North, cause of this very meet-

ing. Narrative of the rising connection between us. "Will you abandon the North?" (Omnes, "No! no! no engagement but an honorable tie.") "Are you for liberty?" (Omnes, "Yes! such measures as may completely restore us to an equal enjoyment of rights and privileges with our Protestant fellow subjects.")

Note. Every sentence in favor of union, meets with the most favorable reception; any man professing intention not to divide the meeting applauded.

Demand generalized; accepted; preamble added; engrossed.

Motion, "That some of our own body present the petition to the Crown. Opposed by *Fitzgerald;* supported by *Keogh.* Adjourned, &c.

Note. This is an important negotiation. Not to look for any other qualification than knowledge of the business, dexterity, and talents. Not risque the success on a foolish punctilio; no deference to wealth or rank; name those best acquainted with the business. (*Lynch.*)

December 5, 1792.

James Edward Devereux, Esq. (of Wexford) in the chair.

1. *Ordered,* That a sheet of parchment be provided, to receive the signatures of the Delegates; such signatures to be taken alphabetically, in the order of their counties.

2. *Resolved,* That a printed list of the signatures affixed to the petition, with the addition of their residence, and post towns, certified under the Secretary's hand, be furnished to each subscriber.

3. *Resolved, unanimously,* That each delegate shall engage to support, with their hands and signatures, the sense of the majority. (Carried with acclamations.)

The members then proceeded to sign the petition, in the order of their counties.

4. *Resolved,* That the Committee will, to-morrow morning, proceed to take into consideration the mode of transmitting the petition to his Majesty. Adjournment to 11 o'clock, to-morrow.

Notes on the Debate.

Moved by *Teeling*, That a list of the members who sign the petition be printed, for the use of the members.

Fitzgerald. That the signatures be not affixed until the mode of transmitting the petition be settled.

Pallas, Keon, Contra.

Keogh. "Let the petition go where it may, to England or Ireland, it ought to go as strong in signatures as possible. Division undoes us." (Plaudits.) It is by the blessing of free representation that, though several gentlemen had predetermined to leave the room, if a certain measure was carried, they withdrew their opposition on conviction, and it passed unanimously. (Explanation between MM. Keogh and Comyn; Keogh dexterous.)

Sweetman, of Wexford. "That all shall engage to support, with their hands and signatures, the sense of the majority." (Omnes plaudunt, with hands raised.)

M'Neven. "I sign, coute qui coute." (Plaudits.)

DECEMBER 6, 1792.

William Coppinger, Esq. in the chair.—The roll was called over, pursuant to the order of the day. The engrossed petition was then read. The question being put, "That the petition of the Catholics of Ireland be transmitted directly to the throne, by a deputation chosen from their body;" it was moved, "That the consideration of the above question be postponed till to-morrow;" and the same was negatived.

The original question was then put, and carried unanimously.

Adjournment till to-morow, at 11 o'clock.

Notes on the Debate.

Keogh. For union! Reminds the meeting of their resolution to concur, as one man, after debate; critical situation of England; stocks falling, &c. ergo! press now! No time to compliment Ministers here, who have always labored to oppose the Catholics. Tree of liberty planted in Scotland. Menaces of Government

here to take up the four first men in arms. The North of Ireland have preferred to give up their prejudices, rather than their liberty to their tyrants. If the present negotiation fails, hopes that all opposition will be withdrawn in this assembly. (Plaudits, &c.)

(General debate.) *Keogh continues.* "Expected to have had an answer before now from the Castle. This delay attributed to the fluctuating counsels there. Be you decided, and you will decide them. Only chance for Government is the possibility of division amongst us."

Petition read. (Plaudits.)

Christopher Bellew, of Galway. "That the petition be sent to the foot of the throne, by a deputation of our own body."

J. J. M'Donnell. Seconds the motion.

Keogh. Tells a cock-and-bull story of Lord Donoughmore. (It strikes me that he has let the critical moment pass. He totally wants the faculty of taking a public meeting on the moment.)

M'Kenna. Would oppose pressing the question *now*, but *to-morrow*.

Sweetman, of Wexford. Not to lose time. Committee greater than Parliament. That a message be sent to Lord Donoughmore to know whether this be a public message.

Keogh. States a trick on the generosity of the meeting. A respectable gentleman stated this morning, on authority, that the petition would be received at the Castle, and transmitted with warm recommendations, and a packet hired express. (Conversation with some gentlemen.) What he communicated was only a private conversation between a respectable gentlemen and himself, but nothing from authority, (speeching! speeching!) Will you trust your petition with such a Government? (Omnes, with loud acclamation, No! No!)

D. T. O'Brien. Came in the morning in favor of the Castle, as most constitutional, and least likely to inflame opposition. Advice of some good friends, but will, nevertheless, coincide with the majority.

M'Kenna. Convinced by the duplicity of the Castle.

Chris. Bellew, (heir to 5,000*l.* sterling a year.) In support of his own motion. Moved by previous ill usage, but that not sufficient. Castle broke faith with the 68. The attempt to delay this day, has completely satisfied him. Objected disrespect

to Government. Answers it is intended. African slaves would not petition their task masters. Time to speak out like men. No disrespect to the throne, to lay an humble petition before it. Wishes his constituents may know his conduct, and ready to sanctify his measures in any way.

D. M'Dermott, of Sligo. Right ascertained. Bill of rights and precedents. In 1614, secession of ten members, in 1663, not come from all parts of Ireland, from various causes. To stop short in this career, would be ruin. (Plaudits.)

Fitzgerald. Moves adjournment of question till to-morrow. (No plaudits.)

Teeling. Argues, lest agreeing to this, might interfere with the personal concerns of some members.

Devereux, of Wexford. Would consent to an adjournment, if he did not fear that people might be misled by ill advice in the mean time. No offence to present a loyal petition, and right to mark our abhorrence of the measures of Government here, for they are the enemies of Ireland. The present Government has not the confidence of the people. (Loud plaudits.) "Attachment of Catholics to King, Lords, and Commons, but not to a bad Ministry, who have abused and reviled them through the country.

M'Kenna. Interrupted by *Sweetman*. Resumes, tampering. *Devereux* explains the words, misleading by artifices.

M'Kenna. "Petition must go through the Castle. May fail in any other way. No recollection of past piques should influence. Present Government no worse than their predecessors.

Braughall. Declared his opinion two days ago. At eight, last night, a person, much respected, and loving the cause, but influenced, came to know the result, and said another person, high in authority, proposed a communication by the Castle, and engaged, if it was sent there, recommended by Lord Donoughmore, that a vessel would be despatched with it this night. He (Braughall) objected former breach of faith to the sixty-eight. Was answered that the interest of Government was with the Catholics, and, therefore, that they might be relied on. This influenced him almost to accede. In consequence, a communication was opened with Lord Donoughmore, and a confirmation given, under the pledge of some gentlemen, that the Catholics

should not be duped, if they agreed to send petition through Government.

Russell, of Louth. To stay all night, if necessary. If it go abroad that you waver, you are undone. Stay till five in the morning.

Rochfort agrees. *Mahon* withdraws his opposition. *Anonymous.* Not part till decided. *Lefebvre.* For novelty's sake try this mode, since the Castle has always failed before.

N. B. The committee *minuted* the Castle to-day. The Castle have done the business of transmission effectually by their own duplicity. Thank God!

Keogh. Not send to the Castle, for we have not *even* a promise.

Question. Not submit to the chance of the Lord Lieutenant not sending it. *Unanimous.* Adjournment.

Notes on slips of paper.—Lord Donoughmore driving. Bad compromise. Castle to engage to transmit with recommendation and letters to Ministry. Bad! Bad!

That a gentleman be now sent to request of Lord Donoughmore to know whether this is a public message.

NOTE.—I move that if there is any public message from the Castle, it be now reported. If not, that we proceed to business immediately.

DECEMBER 7, 1792.

B. Rivers, Esq. in the chair.

1. *Resolved,* That a deputation of five gentlemen be appointed to carry the petition to his Majesty.

2. *Resolved,* That the mode of election be by ballot.

And, on a ballot having taken place, the following gentlemen were chosen: Edward Byrne, J. Keogh, J. E. Devereux, Christopher Bellew, and Sir Thomas French.

3. *Resolved,* That the order of this meeting, signed by the Chairman, and countersigned by the Secretary, be delivered to those gentlemen, as their warrant, for acting on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland.

4. That the instruction to the deputation be, to adhere to the spirit of the petition, and admit nothing derogatory to that union, which is the strength of Ireland.

The Address to the People was then read—And,

5. *Resolved*, That the said Address be referred back to the Sub-committee: and that they report to-morrow to this meeting at 11 o'clock precisely.

The following gentlemen were then chosen to fill the chair in succession: Messrs. Shiel, Harvey, Hay, Fitzgerald, Archbold, Owen, O'Connor, Arthur, and Everard.

And this meeting adjourned till 11 o'clock to-morrow.

Notes on the Debate.

Randal M'Donnell. To move the deputation. The sooner the better, as two Parliaments meet in a few days. A small number best. Not more than five. To be restricted to act with the majority of their body. Proposes Byrne, Devereux, Bellew, Keogh, and Sir Thomas French.

Braughall. To delay till meeting be fuller.

Dr. Troy and Dr. Moylan introduced. (Plaudits *standing*.)

Teeling. Proposes provincial election of delegates by ballot.

Pallas Contra. Lynch. Bravo!

Question as to election or ballot. Voted by ballot.

Question as to numbers. Voted five, &c.

Geraghty. Proposes publication of instructions. (Foolish.)

Sweetman, of W. To adhere to the spirit of the petition, and admit nothing derogatory to the union, which is the strength of Ireland. (Plaudits unanimous.)

Dr. M'Dermot. If petition rejected; not to go to the Castle, but return to the General Committee.

Note. Change the word "*unalterably.*"

O'Gormon. To assure the meeting that Comyn has, in no one case, spoken the sentiments of his constituents, and, in and out of the meeting, has been very troublesome ever since he came to town.—(Note. This brought on by Comyn finding fault with the petition naming certain great men, &c.

Notes. After deputation to England agreed, a message came to Byrne, offering a belief that Government would transmit it. *Byrne.* If the Lord Lieutenant and Secretary were in the outer room, it is *now* too late, we have decided. Hartly, Pim, Colville, Shaw, and many other Protestant merchants will sign, if they can get it carried through the general body of the mer-

chants, a petition coextensive and supporting ours—and, probably, Latouche. Instructions to delegates. To take an hotel, and make a superb appearance; servants, &c.

December 8, 1792.

Edward Shiel, Esq. in the chair. The Chairman reported from the Sub-committee, to whom the address was referred; and the alterations being read, were severally agreed to.

1. *Resolved*, That the paragraph respecting the desertion of some of our leaders be expunged. *Unanimously.*

2. *Resolved*, That the words "and sanctioned," be expunged.

3. *Resolved*, That the paper now read, entitled "A Vindication of the cause of the Catholics," be received as the unanimous sense of this meeting. *Unanimously.*

4. *Resolved*, That the delegates present will give their honors to attend, when called on again, unless others are chosen.

5. *Resolved*, That this committee does earnestly recommend to the delegates, as soon as possible after their final adjournment, to convene their constituents and communicate to them the steps taken by the committee to procure the emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland.

6. That there be an instruction to the Sub-committee to prepare, as soon as possible, and transmit to the delegates through the Kingdom, a plan for raising such sums of money as may be necessary for supporting and bringing before the legislature the claims of the Catholics of Ireland.

7. *Resolved*, That the Committee adjourn till Monday. (Negatived unanimously.)

8. *Resolved*, That the present Sub-committee and the delegates for counties, be henceforth the Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland.

9. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the illustrious characters in and out of Parliament, who, by their influence and talents, have supported the cause of the Catholics of Ireland.

10. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Committee be given to Mr. Tone.

11. *Resolved*, That the Sub-committee should have power to draw for what sums may be necessary.

12. *Resolved*, That the thanks of this Committee be given to the Sub-committee.

13. *Resolved*, That this Committee do now adjourn until summoned by the Sub-committee.

Notes on the Debate.

Sweetman, of W. To vilify the Chancellor and the Speaker. Loyalty is stupidity and vice, where there is no protection from Government, and gratuitous because it is not paid for, &c. (Plaudits.) King, no right to our loyalty, unless we are protected.

Randall M'Donnell. To discriminate Protestants from monopolists. Lord Chancellor to be directly named, not by implication.

J. Edward Devereux. To acknowledge our friends, and mark our enemies. Publicly mark the Chancellor. No weakness, shuffling, or indecision. Chancellor will fear our power. *Anonymous.* Right.

Keogh. Very candid; agrees to let the Lord Chancellor stand marked.

Fitzgerald. For conciliation; Catholic question is lost in that of reform; we are not ripe for that (show how?) What if delegation in England be coolly received, (speech infamously cowardly.)

Pallas. "Redress of grievances is our object, and Government is the great grievance of Ireland."

Nangle. "No implication; if censure, explicit."

Sweetman. Reform must arise in some stage of the business; 'tis not the first object of the meeting, but a necessary sequel of it. If the king refuses the petition—no allegiance.

Randall McDonnell. Introduces Drs. Troy and Moylan to sign the petition. (Hutchinson is acquitted by the unanimous voice of the Catholics.)

Note of the Editor.—Probably about the offer of Lord Donoughmore, on the 6th of December.

Dr. Daly, Lynch. To expunge the Lord Chancellor. Respect to judicial situation.

Sweetman. He threatened to prostrate chapels. Deserted independence of Ireland in the affair of the regency. Openly opposed the Catholics; may be judicially respectable; is extra judicially, a *villain*, a calumniator of the people; has therefore his hatred and contempt.

Geraghty. Object of this vindication, to show the private views of the enemies to the Catholic interests.

Devereux. To acknowledge friends and mark enemies. Strength and union of ourselves, the only road to win the Lord Chancellor's favor. Truth and virtues of the Catholics; vices and falsehood of their enemies.

Teeling. Calls on Lynch as a lawyer.

Lynch. Distinction between his judicial and extra judicial conduct; libellous to charge the one, not the other.

M'Shiel. I am not afraid to sign!

General results. Treaty of peace between Dr. Troy and the Committee. Vindication adopted unanimously.

To go back to their counties, and *inform* the *natives* delegates will give their honors to attend, when called on again, unless others are chosen—(plaudits, adopted on Keogh's motion.)

O'Gormon, J. J. McDonnell. Aye, if Committee be in North America.

Sheehy answers for 250,000 in Cork.

Thanks to Mr. Tone, unanimously voted, &c.

Dec. 10*th*, 1792. General Committee of Catholics of Ireland, E. Byrne in the chair. Resolved unanimously, *That the thanks of this Committee be presented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq. for the faithful discharge of his duty as our agent, and for the zeal, spirit, and abilities, which he has manifested in the cause of the Catholics of Ireland.*

EDW. BYRNE, *Chairman.*

ED. SWEETMAN, *Secretary.*

Fragments of the Instructions to the Delegates who presented the petition of the Catholics to his Majesty, on loose scraps of paper.

In whatever conference you may hold with his Majesty's Ministers, you are fully to apprise them, that it is the expectation, as well as the wish of the Catholics of Ireland, that the penal and restrictive laws, still affecting them, be *totally* removed; and that nothing short of such *total* removal, will satisfy the doubts and anxieties which at present agitate the public mind in this country, or carry into effect his Majesty's gracious wish for the union of all his subjects in sentiment, interest, and affection.

Additional Instructions.

Sir: In addition to the instructions of this date, already delivered to you, you will please to observe the following, from which you are not at liberty to depart.

1st. If the Minister shall postpone presenting you to his Majesty, you are to apply to any other personage who, by his situation, is proper to introduce you.

2. If the Minister shall refuse to present you, you are to look on it as a refusal to receive the petition, and to return accordingly, unless circumstances shall appear to you, on the spot, to warrant your acting otherwise, in which case you will use your own discretion.

3d. And we especially desire that you will *use all possible expedition.* Feeling, as we do, the greatest reliance on your well tried zeal and attachment to the Catholic cause, we still consider it our duty to suggest that these are the whole of your instructions, from which you are not at liberty to depart.

Correspondence between the Catholic Delegates and the Right Honorable Henry Dundas.

Sir: We have the honor to inform you that the Catholics of Ireland have delegated us to present their humble petition to our most gracious sovereign. We request to know at what time we may be allowed the honor of waiting on you, with a copy of the petition, which we wish to be submitted to his Majesty's in-

spection.—We have the honor to be, with the greatest respect, Sir, your most obedient and very humble servants.

Grevier's Hotel, Jermyn-street, Dec. 19, 1792.

EDWARD BYRNE,
JOHN KEOGH,
J. E. DEVEREUX,
CHRIST. BELLEW,
Sir T. FRENCH.

To the Rt. Hon. H. DUNDAS,
Sec'y of State.

SOMERSET PLACE, 19*th Dec.* 1792.

GENTLEMEN: I have received your letter, and shall be at the Secretary of State's office to-morrow at one o'clock, ready to receive the copy of the petition you propose to commit to my perusal.

I have the honor to be,
Gentlemen,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
H. DUNDAS.

SIR: In justice to his Majesty, with a sense of whose paternal goodness to all his people, we are thoroughly impressed, and to the Catholic people of Ireland, who sent us hither, we think it our indispensable duty to state, that the unanimous sentiment of that body, after a long and solemn discussion of their affairs, was, that no measure short of an abolition of all distinctions, between them and their fellow subjects of other religious persuasions, would be either just or satisfactory. We were sent here to support that opinion, and with instructions to state it fully on all occasions where it might be necessary to do so. We do, therefore, now, in conformity to those instructions, unanimously declare, that no measure of partial relief will be esteemed satisfactory by the Catholics of Ireland; and we further declare it as our opinion, that, independent of the justice of our claims, a total abolition of all distinctions now existing between the Catholics and others, his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, will be expe-

rimentally found to be the only measure capable of removing the anxieties which now exist; of insuring a permanent tranquility to that kingdom: and of perpetuating the connexion with England; the benefits of which we deeply feel, and whose existence we are peculiarly anxious to promote.

We have also the honor to inclose, for your perusal, a copy of the signatures affixed to the petition of the Catholics of Ireland.

We have the honor to be, &c. &c.

To the Rt. Hon. H. DUNDAS, *Secretary of State.*

December 20, 1792.

SIR: In consequence of the interviews with which you honored us on the 20th and 24th of this month, we presumed to entertain a hope, that we should have been favored, by this, with your determination as to the time when we should wait on you to learn the proper mode and season of presenting to his Majesty the humble petition of his loyal subjects the Catholics of Ireland, a copy of which we had the honor to leave for your inspection. We feel it our duty respectfully to apprise you, that on again referring to our instructions, we do not conceive ourselves entrusted with any discretion or latitude, but are limited to presenting the petition to our Sovereign in person. We, therefore, humbly request to know at what time it may please his Majesty graciously to permit us to approach his presence, and lay at his feet the humble and dutiful petition with which we are entrusted. And we are persuaded that you, sir, will not consider us as too urgent in requesting an immediate answer, when we suggest that ten days have now elapsed since our first application, and that we are responsible to those by whom we are deputed, for our using all due diligence in endeavoring to obtain the object of our mission.

We have, &c. &c.

To the Rt. Hon. H. DUNDAS, *Secretary of State.*

December 29, 1792.

Letter from Lord Rawdon to T. W. Tone, Esq.

DEAR SIR: It was very flattering to me, to learn from Lord Granard, that you and the gentlemen of the delegation were desirous of having my print. I request each of you to accept one from me, with my best acknowledgments for the kind partiality which makes you think such a remembrance of me worth your possessing. I wish I could in any attention towards you, claim the merit of personal regards. But your individual characters are at this moment so confounded with your public trust, that, in any respect I can pay to you, I feel as if I were only rendering a bare justice to the dignity of so important a mission. When you shall have fulfilled your present functions, I shall, in cultivating the acquaintance which I have had such satisfaction in making, persuade myself that I may have a clearer pretension to your respective friendship. In the mean time, dear sir, I beg of you that you will make to the gentlemen of the delegation, every profession of esteem on my part, the sincerity of which I will leave to be judged by the manliness of their own sentiments.

And I have the honor to remain,
With truth,
Your most obedient and
Very humble servant,
RAWDON.

Fragments of the Journals of 1793.

January 21, 1793. I find it very hard to keep those journals regularly. I have an arrear on my hands since the week before I left London. I wish I could bring myself to set apart some certain time for journalizing; but, as that would be something approaching to system, I despair of ever reaching it.

In the Sub-committee, Sir T. French, Byrne, Keogh, and McDonnell, despatched to Hobart to apprise him that nothing short of unlimited emancipation will satisfy the Catholics. They return, in about an hour, extremely dissatisfied with each

other, and, after diverse mutual recriminations, it appears, by the confession of all parties, that, so far from discharging their commission, they had done directly the reverse; for the result of their conversation with the Secretary was, that he had declared explicitly against the whole measure, and they had given him reason, in consequence, to think that the Catholics would acquiesce contentedly in a half one. Sad, sad! I am surprised at Sir T. French, for, as for merchants, I begin to see they are no great hands at revolutions. And so Gog's puffing is come to this: I always thought, when the crisis arrived, that he would be shy, and I am more and more confirmed in that idea, by every new incident. Agreed by the S. C. that a letter should be written to Hobart to rectify this mistake, which is done accordingly, after many alterations. It is not well done after all; for, instead of putting the question on the true ground, it only says that his Majesty's gracious intentions towards the Catholics cannot be fulfilled, unless by the repeal of the penal laws. I wanted to express it a great deal stronger, and to hint at the danger of trifling but was overpowered. Magog, the single man who was up to the business properly: H. Hamill next best. Gog damped them by puffing his readiness for one to face any danger which might ensue from a strong representation. Owen O'Connor asserted that he was ready too, upon which Gog asked him, Was he prepared to enter the tented field? He answered "He was." Now the fact is, the question was put to frighten Ned Byrne; and another fact is, that O'Connor was ready, and Gog was not. He is a sad fellow after all. I see if ever the business is done, it will be by the country gentlemen. In the evening wrote three official letters to Devereux, Charge d'Affaires at the Court of London.—*Mauvais jour.*

January 22. Called on Sir Thomas French. A council of war. The Baronet, James Plunket, Edward Sweetman, P. P. and Mr. Hutton, agreed unanimously that the cause has gone back materially, from the conversation of yesterday; that a sneaking spirit of compromise seems creeping in, which, if not immediately checked, may be fatal. Agreed that Sweetman shall prepare a strong address to the Nation, to show Ministers that we are as resolute as ever. Agreed that, if all be given except the two houses, the gentry of the Catholics will be the only disfranchised body in the Nation. All the country

gentlemen present in a rage thereat, which Mr. Hutton and P. P. aggravate to an extreme degree.

January 23. Sweetman produces his paper at the Sub-committee, which is very strong and good. Mr. Hutton produces an amendment in the shape of a most virulent attack on the Lord Chancellor, (Fitzgibbon.) The Sub-committee staggered thereat. The whole referred to a Committee, viz. Hamill, McDonnell, Sweetman, Bellew, Dr. Ryan, and Mr. Hutton, to report next day. Dine with T. Braughall, and a long set. In committee in the evening: divers alterations in the paper, principally on the suggestion of Hamill, who is a very clever man, and far the first that I have seen of the Catholic mercantile interest. Agreed to the paper, which is very good. Will they pass it?

January 24. Sir T. French opens the business by a strong attack on the meeting for the lukewarm spirit which they have manifested for these last few days. I am very glad of this step, which indeed I put the Baronet upon. It will give them a fillip which they want. The paper read and received coldly enough. This is hard! They have now a noble opportunity of punishing their old enemy Fitzgibbon, and I am afraid they will let it slip. It is objected to on two grounds; 1st, as an attack on the privileges of Parliament; and, 2d, inasmuch as being below their dignity, to enter into an altercation with the Chancellor. The last is most insisted upon, the first appearing to savor a little of timidity. The fact is they *are* afraid, which is damned bad. They were much stouter three months ago, when they were, beyond all comparison, weaker. Now they have, I may say, the whole North, the sanction of the King's name, and their own party in the highest spirits, and most anxious expectations, and all of a sudden they are gone unaccountably backward. *This is vile.* It will give our execrable Government time to recollect themselves. They are now rocking to their very foundation, and they are still more frightened than hurt. We are going to take them very kindly out of this panic, and, by the fluctuation and indecision of our councils, to show them that they have nothing to fear from us. What does Gog want them to do this morning? Only to alter the prayer of the petition to Parliament, by striking out the part which mentions, in terms, a repeal of the penal laws, and to leave it general, according to the form of that presented to the King; and this wise and va-

liant proposal comes after we have put Hobart in possession of a copy of our intended petition. The Sub-committee unanimously reject the proposition. Gog is losing ground fast, and, if he does not take care, he will go down totally. He certainly wants either talents, integrity, or courage, to conduct the affairs of the Catholics in their present state. The intended paper is at length got rid of, by referring it to those who are called our *Parliamentary friends.* I never knew good come through that channel: but, however, *"'tis but in vain for soldiers to complain."*

January 25. Gog comes into town, and makes a most amazing flourish. He has found out that he is losing ground on the score of courage, and therefore he proposes to the Sub-committee to send proper persons to Dungannon, to propose to the Convention which is to meet there on the 15th February, that the Catholics will accept of no relief, unless a reform be granted, provided the Dissenters will accept of no reform which shall not include the Catholics on a footing of equality. All this a rhodomontade. Gog knows very well that the Sub-committee will not agree to such a proposal, which, in the present state of the business, would be foolish; and that, if they were disposed to do so, they have no authority or power. He just means to make a dash, and have to say that he proposed a measure which was too bold for the Sub-committee to adopt.

January 26 *to* 31. The Sub-committee is infected more and more with Gog's timidity, which is now, to all intents, as ruinous as downright treachery. T. Fitzgerald, who behaved infamously in the Convention, and was most odious to Gog, is in town, and they have formed a most unnatural coalition. They have poisoned T. Warren between them. The Vintner is cowardly, and, besides, is under Gog's influence; M'Donnell is perpetually wavering. The country delegates do not step out. Altogether, every thing looks ill. A deputation has been with Hobart again, as to the presenting the petition. He objects to the prayer as being too specific. He is asked if it be altered to the very words of that presented to the King, will he then present and support it. This he declines, but says, if they choose to give it to any of their own friends, it will make no alteration in his conduct relative to the extent of the measures which he will support. This is a good opening, if the Catho-

lics have the grace to avail themselves of it, for the Minister is bound by the King's recommendation, and opposition will be bound, as bringing in the petition. The only use of Hobart's bringing it in, is, that it may pledge him to the whole measure.

Sub-committee. After sundry debates for two or three days, the prayer of the petition is altered to Gog's mind. I am clear he is wrong. If the form now agreed upon were the best, which I doubt, there should not be allowed the least alteration, for no form of words that was not downright offensive to Parliament, can do such mischief as this appearance of fluctuations and indecision in our councils. This is very bad; not that the alteration is very material, but that it betrays a sad decay in our spirit. Three or four days ago the Sub-committee rejected the idea of alteration unanimously, and with some appearance of resentment. To-day the same alteration is unanimously and very quietly adopted. Sad! sad!

A scuffle between MM. Gog and Hutton. In the last debate on the alteration, Mr. Hutton mentioned some expressions which he had heard out of doors. Gog, in his reply, remarked, in a very pointed manner, "that the Sub-committee were not to be influenced in their decisions by reports of *conversations with persons whom they knew nothing about.*" And in another part, "that they were not to attend to conversations that were *held in corners.*" Mr. Hutton taketh fire thereat, as the insinuation is too strong and pointed to be overlooked. He riseth in great heat. T. Warren adviseth him not to speak, but he sweareth with vehemence that he will. In the mean time Edward Sweetman addresses the chair, and pronounces a handsome eulogium on Mr. Hutton, which a little abates the choler of that illustrious patriot, and also gives him a moment's time to recollect himself. He determines to make the apology to Gog as easy as possible, that he may have no reason to accuse himself. He, therefore, fixing his eyes on Gog, says, with great *mildness*, "that he is sure that gentleman did not intend to cast "any imputation on him, but, as, unluckily, the words he had "used, might be construed so as to bear a bad sense, he thought "it but right to give him an opportunity to explain them. That "he (Mr. Hutton) had never had a conversation with any man "on Catholic affairs, that he would not hold before every man

"in the room; nor done any action, in a corner or elsewhere, "which he would not repeat at the Royal Exchange at noon-"day. That he had no *secret*, and, consequently, no fear. That "he mentioned this, in justice to Gog, to induce him to give a "proper explanation, *for he would not suffer himself to suppose "that Gog could intend to convey the smallest imputation upon "his conduct.*"

These last words brought up Gog in a fuss. He payeth Mr. Hutton sundry compliments, and appeals to the Sub-committee, whether he had not always expressed the obligations which the Catholic cause owed to his exertions and talents, and whether he had not always said that the Catholics were bound, in honor, not only to *reward him, but to raise his fortune.* That he thought his (Mr. Hutton's,) measures for the last few days, alluding to the business of the petition, had tended too much to commit the Catholics with Parliament, but was satisfied, at the same time, of the perfect purity of his intentions; that, as to the expressions himself had used, he never intended by them to convey the smallest imputation on Mr. Hutton, and, particularly, as to what he had said about "corners," which he now saw was equivocal; he was sorry it had escaped him; and begged to recall it; he added sundry civil things, to all which Mr. Hutton answered by a low bow, and so the affair ended.

Now the fact is, Gog knew very well what he was saying, and did intend to attach an oblique censure on Mr. Hutton, which would have stuck to that gentleman, if he had not immediately resented it. Another fact is, *that Gog is not a firm man*, which is so much the better for Mr. Hutton, who has, thereby, a claw upon the said Gog. If he had not apologized, Mr. Hutton would have sent a certain officer, of the name of Edward Sweetman, (who is indeed delegate for Wexford, and does not much love Gog,) with a message, which would, as is presumed, have speedily brought him to a proper sense of his duty. *The fellow will ruin me yet with the Catholics, if he can: let him, but I will do, at all risques, what I feel to be my duty.*

The paper, with the attack on the Chancellor, seems universally given up. No body mentions it. A long despatch from Devereux, containing an account of a conversation which he had with Dundas, wherein, after pressing him very hard, he had driven him to confess, that they did not intend to go be-

yond partial relief. The Sub-committee puzzled to know what to say to this. Devereux is several notes above their present key. Gog, at length, makes a very artful and insidious attack on Devereux, under colour of excusing his warmth and inexperience, and, in the course of his harangue, he twice *hoped the S. C. would not dishonor their deputy.* Edward Sweetman flames out, being indeed cousin and bosom friend to Devereux; he seizes the word "*dishonor,*" and says his kinsman is not to be dishonored by any man. Gog finds, to his great mortification, that this won't do, and that he has a chance of being very roughly handled by Sweetman. He immediately begins to apologize with great earnestness, and vehemence, and to express his great respect and affection for Devereux. The S. C. all at once, declare their assent to this, and say that no man could possibly intend disrespect to Mr. Devereux; so, at length, with some difficulty, Sweetman is pacified, and Gog got out of what, at first, appeared to be an ugly scrape. Gog has managed his matters poorly enough, to be obliged to apologize twice in one week; he hates Sir Thomas French, Sweetman, and Mr. Hutton, worse than the Devil, *and for a good reason.*

My own opinion is, that Devereux did not act like a trained politician in this business, but he did like a good Irishman, and a man of high spirit; at any rate, no bad consequence has resulted, for the ultimatum was despatched to Ireland before this conversation.

The King of France was beheaded on the 21st—*I am sorry it was necessary.* Another interview with Hobart; he agrees to present the petition as altered, but takes care to protest against his being thereby committed to the whole measure. He says he will go so far as he is supported by the House, and the Catholics give him the petition to present, saying they hope his conduct will be such as to entitle him to the gratitude, and his Majesty's Government to the support of the Catholics. They are all wrong in my judgment. They should give it to some independent man, for Hobart is bound already to do what he can by the speech from the throne, and this imposes no additional tie, whilst it cripples opposition; besides, he did not appear any way anxious to present it, and they in a manner forced it upon him, which is very bad, as it betrays a want of confidence in themselves and their friends. I am not much in love with their

proceedings for some time back. They have totally lost the spirit which they seemed to have in England.

February 1, 1793. Debate on the late business with the Goldsmith's corps. A few days ago they paraded, when they were informed by Alderman Warren, that if they attempted to march, he would take the officers into custody; on which, after some consideration, it was agreed to disperse. The reason of this was, that some individuals threatened to resist, by force, and it was not thought advisable to commit the volunteers with Government just now. There are about 250 volunteers in Dublin, and the garrison is not less than 2,500, so that resistance is out of the question for the present. Do Government mean to carry the principle on with other corps? Will they go on and disarm us all? I hope not.

February 4. Hobart presented the petition, and moved for leave to bring in a bill, which is granted. The measure of relief intended, as chalked out by him, is as follows: The elective franchise. Magistracies. Right of endowing schools. Admissibility to corporations. Right of carrying arms, subject to modification. Civil offices, subject also to modification; but we shall see more when the bill is introduced, and still more when it is carried. The points withheld are: The two Houses of Parliament. The Bench, and the Board of Commissioners of the Revenue. The last two are nonsense. There is no need of an act of Parliament to do what the King can do of himself, and it establishes a principle of exclusion, which ought to be kept out of sight as much as possible. Will the Catholics be satisfied with this bill? I believe they will, and be damned! I am losing ground amongst them, I see, hourly, owing to my friend Gog, who, I know, will work me out. He does not like to have me close enough to inspect his actions, and I am much afraid he has some foul negotiation on foot. I know no more of their plans for the last week than the man in the moon.

February 5. Gog has exhibited a master-stroke! He moved this day, when only nine gentlemen were present, "that, in order to unite secrecy and despatch, the gentlemen who have been appointed to "wait on the Minister, be requested to con-"tinue their applications, in order to carry into effect the object "of the petition." This seems innocent enough, but what does it mean? It is a delegation of the whole power of the Catholic

body, to seven men who have no definite instructions, who are not bound to report their proceedings, and who have no responsibility. The Sub-committee is thus adjourned *sine die*, and the Catholic body is governed by a Septemvirate, Gog being Dictator. This is all damned fine, but it wont do. What makes it more curious, is, that, of the nine men who voted this wise measure, *five* were of the deputation. Magog, Mr. Hutton, and every body else, are fairly excluded from all knowledge of or interference in Catholic affairs, and that without the least bustle or noise. This scheme will never do. We must have a counter-revolution, or an open meeting. Gog is as deep as a draw-well. Mr. Hutton informs Magog of this unexpected change. Magog in a rage; swears he will take Gog off his stilts. Goes off to inflame the citizens against the Septemviri. Their reign, I see clearly, will be very brief. It is, to be sure, a damned impudent attempt, and a very artful one of Gog.

February 6th. A meeting of malcontents: Present, Magog, Capt. Sweetman, P. P. and Mr. Hutton. Much railing against the new Dictator; a formal conspiracy against his authority. Magog has poisoned the whole city. Agree to call the Sub-committee, and rescind the vote appointing the *Septemviri;* if defeated in the Sub-committee, to call the General Committee. Gog's new authority tottering already. Mr. Hutton and P. P. walk together; much laughing at Mr. Hutton, who is indeed an ex-minister, and no longer possesses the confidence of the Catholics. All this will soon be rectified. As the Septemviri will soon be abolished, it is thought proper here to insert a list of their names. Sir Thomas French, John Keogh, Thomas Fitzgerald, Randal M'Donnell, Christopher Bellew, Edward Byrne, and Dennis Thomas O'Brien.

February 7th. Magog is ready, and has summoned the Sub-committee for to-morrow.

February 8th. A complete counter-revolution effected, and the Septemviri removed without tumult or disturbance. Magog moved, that the order of the 5th be rescinded, which, after a feeble opposition from the Dictator, who is once more indeed, become plain Gog, is carried unâ voce. Gog lays down the fasces, and walks forth a private citizen—Huzza! huzza! Mr. Hutton restored, also Magog, also all good Catholics. Huzza! that business is over, and the Dictatorate at an end, after an existence

of three days. May all unjust power have as speedy a termination! The deputation report, that they were sent for this morning by Hobart, to tell them, "That nothing could be done in the "business of the bill for the relief of the Catholics, unless he "should be enabled to say, that they would be satisfied with the "measures at present intended; that, by being satisfied, is meant, "that the public mind should not be irritated in the manner it has "been, for some time past; that it is not meant to say, that future "applications may not be made, but that if they (the Catholics) "will not for the present be satisfied, it is better to make a stand "here, than to concede, and thereby to give them strength, by "which they might be able further to embarrass Administration, "perhaps next session." This is pretty stout language of the Secretary. It is observable, that, last night, 20,000 army and 16,000 militia were voted by the House of Commons, and that opposition, and particularly Grattan, were as earnest in the measure as the Treasury bench. They are a fine set, to be sure, altogether. Grattan dreads the people as much as Monck Mason. A long conversation amongst the Catholics on the point of declaring themselves satisfied, or not, with Hobart's bill. For satisfaction, Sir Thomas French, Bellew, Byrne, O'Connor, and Keogh; against it, O'Gorman, Sweetman, M'Cormick, and James Plunkett. This is as important a crisis, as any which has occurred in Catholic affairs.

For satisfaction: it is said, that the people out of doors would disown us, if we were, after bringing the question thus far prosperously, now to refuse purchasing the present bill at so cheap a price; that the Secretary did not say that we were to acquiesce for *ever* under the measures intended, but only that the public mind should not be irritated; that every accession of strength enabled us the better to secure the remainder; that we might take what was now offered, and in a year or two apply for what was withheld; that the present bill would give substantial relief; that the numbers who would suffer by what was withheld were very few, in comparison with those who would be satisfied by what was granted; that, as to the Bench, few Catholic lawyers could be, even in point of standing, fit for that station for many years, before which time it was hoped all distinctions would be done away; that, as to seats in Parliament, if all were this moment granted, no Catholic gentleman is prepared, by freeholders

or otherwise, for an immediate contest, so that in case of a general election immediately, the Protestant gentry must come in without opposition; that a few years would alter this, and enable the Catholics to make their arrangements, so as to engage in the contest on equal terms. It was again and again pressed, that the people would not be with us, and, finally, it was asked, were we prepared for the consequences of a refusal? that is, in plain English, were we ready to take the field? An argument which seemed to have its due weight with divers of the assembly.

On the other hand: it was said, that what had been determined by the general will of the Catholics of Ireland assembled, could not be reversed by the persons appointed to carry that will into execution; that the Sub-committee had not even the power of discussing the Minister's propositions; that if the Catholics were still to be kept from an equal share of the benefits of the Constitution, they should not sanction the exclusion by concurring in it; that it would ill become them now to ask less, when they had obtained the Royal approbation of their claims, when they had the support of the entire North, and so many respectable county meetings of their Protestant brethren joined to their own united strength, than they had done at a time when so many fortunate circumstances had not yet concurred in their favor; that the proposal originated with men who had always been their enemies, and therefore was brought forward evidently with a view to distract and divide them; that the people were with the Sub-committee, as appeared by the universal satisfaction which the resolution of the Grand Committee, to go for complete emancipation, had given to all ranks and descriptions of Catholics; that they were unable to cope with their enemies in the arts of negotiation; that if the Minister desired that expression of satisfaction, which the Sub-committee neither could nor ought to give, the Grand Committee might be summoned, the bare mention of which would deter him from pressing it farther; that, as to the "tented field," such language was not to be held out to an unarmed people, pursuing their just rights, and using, and desiring to use, no other weapons than a "sulky, unaccommoda-"ing, complaining, constitutional loyalty." Finally, it was again pressed, and insisted upon, that the Grand Committee having already decided in favor of the whole measure, no body, nor in-

dividual among the Catholics, had power to sanction any measure, short of complete relief.

After much altercation and repetition of the above arguments, on both sides, the Sub-committee broke up, without coming to any determination. *I see the whole measure is decidedly lost.*

Letters from the Catholic Sub-committee, during the negotiation with Secretary Hobart.

Sir: In communicating to the Sub-committee the conversation you honored us with last Monday, we stated your apprehensions, that our opponents might draw arguments against us, if our petition to Parliament was in the words of the sketch submitted to you.

Although the Sub-committee have no authority to narrow the object decided upon by the delegated Catholics of Ireland, which, as we had the honor to acquaint you, was to petition for the repeal of all the penal laws, yet the Sub-committee have power to choose the words, that may convey that prayer.

In deference to your advice, they have changed the words of that prayer, agreeably to the copy we have the honor to enclose, which is now expressed precisely as in the petition presented to our beloved Sovereign, and most graciously received by him, and in consequence of which he has recommended his Catholic subjects to the liberality of Parliament.

We have no doubt but Parliament will, in their wisdom and liberality, imitate the example of the Father of all his people, in their reception of this our petition.

We hope the Catholics of Ireland will owe to you, his Majesty's Minister in Ireland, the obligation of presenting and supporting this petition, and the more so, as you will thereby effectually cement and unite all his Majesty's Catholic subjects in support of the Constitution.

We submit to you, Sir, whether this must not be the will of the best of Kings; otherwise, we would be expected to be attached to a constitution from which we are excluded.

And thus, his Majesty's Ministers in Ireland will have the honor of making this Government as popular, and as strong, as our King is justly revered and loved by his grateful people.

January 31*st*, 1793.

Sir: Agreeably to your desire, I have the honor of sending you, enclosed, a paper containing the alterations, marked in red ink, which the Sub-committee of Catholics wished to submit to you, to be adopted in the bill for the relief of their people, so that the objects it purposes may be effectually accomplished. It is also accompanied by another, explaining the grounds on which said alterations are proposed. This is not as full as might be wished, from the shortness of the notice; but if you, Sir, and the King's law servants, shall judge any further explanation to be necessary, and will be so good to allow our counsel the opportunity, they will attend when you may direct.

I have the honor to be, with the highest respect,

RANDAL M'DONNELL.

22d February, 1793.

Note by the Editor. These two fatal letters mark the crisis in the Catholic affairs, when, overreached by the superior art of their adversaries in the Irish Government, their irresolution lost an opportunity, which they have never recovered since.

From this date my father's journals are all lost. A few fragments of memorandums and letters, of the two subsequent years, will complete this Appendix.

MEMORANDUM

Of the Sittings of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, in April, 1793.

7th Sitting—*April 16th*, 1793.

Mr. Harvey Hay in the chair—The delegates appointed to present the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his Majesty, having presented their report, the same was received and read.

The Secretary having presented the draft of an address to the King, the same was received and read.

1. *Resolved*, That the same be referred to a committee of the whole house.

In Committee—The Chairman having left the chair, and Mr. Edward Byrne having taken it, the address was read, paragraph by paragraph. The Chairman reported progress, and begged leave to sit again.

Mr. Harvey Hay in the chair. Moved, That a committee be appointed, to whom the two addresses be referred, and that they

be requested to report at two o'clock to-morrow. The following gentlemen compose the committee: Messrs. Hamill, Devereux, Edward Hay, M'Cormick, J. J. M'Donnell, Dr. Macneven, and Dr. Ryan.

2. *Resolved*, That a committee of seven be now appointed to examine the accounts of the Sub-committee, and report at 10 to-morrow morning, what sums appear owing by the same. The committee consists of the following gentlemen: Sir T. French, Messrs. Warren, Mansfield, Arthur, Fitzgerald, Teeling, and Capt. Sweetman, of Wexford.

The committee then adjourned till to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

RICHARD M'CORMICK,
JOHN SWEETMAN,
THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

Notes of the Debate.

Mr. Harvey Hay in the chair—Report of delegation read.

Edward Sweetman, of W. Object of deputation to obtain total emancipation. Relief obtained incomplete. Necessary to show why this happened so. Report necessary to be more full, and show the cause of failure.

Lynch. Impossible to be done under two or three days.

Braughall. Impossible for delegates to know the cause. Private motives of men in power unknown. Speeches of members of Parliament, containing their motives, sufficiently public. Recommends unanimity. Elective franchise will infallibly and speedily produce what is withheld, unless we destroy it by disunion. No doubt the delegates will readily explain any difficulty, which they are able to do, in debate, if specifically pointed out.

Geraghty. No powers of negotiation given to delegates, but to Sub-committee, who will report.

Teeling. If report contains all that the deputation have to say, well and good; if not, they will doubtless say so, and communicate all that they know.

E. Sweetman. Necessary for Catholics to know what communications have been held with Dundas and other men in power; otherwise, they are incompetent to know whether the deputation have done their duty. The demand of Catholics was *total*, why is their relief *partial?*

Boyland. Deputation incompetent to answer the question. Have done a great deal. Some time ago the Catholics glad of much less. (A cry of No! No!) Sub-committee the object of the General Committee.

Devereux, of Wex. In justification of himself. Heard with surprise of Hobart's bill; the more, because knowing that a partial measure was not consonant to the feelings of delegates whilst in London, and that they were authorized by admission of English ministry to introduce a full bill. Wished, therefore, that some of his brother delegates, particularly his friend, in his eye, (Keogh) would give some explanation.

Keogh. Ill state of health almost disables him. Begs of others to explain. If no one else does, he will.

Fitzgerald. None necessary. Deputation procured what they were sent for, the King's assent.

Keogh. Exordium. Necessary to take up the question a little before last meeting. Exertions necessary to get people to come forward to ask even for elective franchise. Journies to divers parts. Not expected just before meeting, that they would ask for more. Did so, and persisted in their demand. Sent deputation direct to England. In London, deputation resolved to see no body until they had seen Dundas, which they maintained rigidly. Deputation had several interviews with Dundas, one of the ablest men in England; they being little practised. Nevertheless, stood firm, and would not concede a point of their demand for the whole measure. Artifices of Dundas to get them to admit something, but all in vain. They persisted in steadily demanding equality of rights. From that steadiness, what has been got was got. Instance, in endeavors of Dundas to get the petition sent through him. Failure thereof. Again his wish to postpone—refused. Prayer of petition was granted, as appears by the King's speech. In the interview, when Dundas mentioned this, delegation steady. On last day, his impression was, that Dundas was convinced of the necessity of emancipating or satisfying the Catholics. On the last day but one, not so successful, but on the last, quite satisfactory. Words of Dundas, "go home, and judge of us by the conduct of our friends in Ireland." (Devereux interrupting, "We could not drive him to an answer.") It is true. Never could bring Dundas to be specific, on account of the independence of Irish Parliament and Govern-

ment; but he did imply his assent by reference to conduct of administration here. North, now under a cloud of censure, therefore doubly necessary to show our gratitude. Dundas read to them from a paper certain words reflecting on "seditions," &c. Deputation refused to concur. Agreed to profess loyalty, but not to condemn any people by implication. Deputation with the Castle here. Mr. Hobart, during the whole intercourse, fair, candid, and honorable, decided to carry as much as he could in Parliament. He pressed a short bill, never agreed to in any instance, in recollection of Keogh. Hobart said, he was ready, if they were satisfied, to introduce a short bill, which they refused. Petition went for full relief, and was presented. Bill was introduced by Hobart. Difficulty to carry it. He pressed them to say they would find the bill substantial, which they refused to say on behalf of General Committee or Sub-committee, or as delegates, but *did* as individuals. Bill then enlarged by sweeping clause. If his opinion is necessary, it is, that had a bill for the whole measure been introduced it would have been lost. Catholics have great reason to be rejoiced and grateful at what they have got. Enumeration thereof. By these, what is withheld must be obtained by the elective franchise. Members of Parliament will be interested to patronize the Catholic cause. Great offices of state are, indeed, withheld, but rather painful to the pride than prejudicial to the interests of the Catholics. Elective franchise, a solid victory to Catholics, and present bill must fall in time by its own absurdity, as emancipating the ignorant and disfranchising the informed. Obligations to the King for his recommendation. Wonder that Catholic emancipation has been effected, without a blow. Show example of spirit of union and incorporation with the people of Belfast, and prove we are desirous and deserving of their confidence. (Plaudits.)

Devereux. Reason of expressing surprise at this partial bill, because contrary to sentiments of deputation in London, and also because the whole measure was sanctioned by English ministry. After the last interview, Devereux pressed to send off two gentlemen to Ireland, to prevent, if possible, a half measure. English ministry agreed that a bill for the whole measure might be introduced. First material error in Keogh's statement, neglecting to do justice to his own talents, by stating how he over-

powered the English Minister. Interview after the petition was received. Endeavors to bring him to a definitive answer. He said he would only expect to be supported by the Catholics according to the measure of relief received by them. Determination to bring him to a definitive conclusion at another interview. At this meeting Dundas did not appear punctually, which was very uncommon. Mr. Nepean took Keogh into another room. Lord Abercorn came in and expressed his surprise at the impunctuality of Dundas, which was so totally against his custom. This made them wonder and resolve to send in for Keogh, who came out, after having been absent three quarters of an hour. Dundas *then* appeared, and the deputation was introduced. Pressed him very hard for an answer, but not with equal skill or force on the part of Keogh. At length, three of the delegates rose, and the English Ministers; Sir T. French and Devereux remained sitting for some time, but were finally obliged to rise and go off with the rest. When returned, the others agreed that they had got a satisfactory and positive answer; but, on Sir T. French pressing them, it was *found* out that they had not. It then became necessary to send off the gentlemen to prevent a half measure.

E. Sweetman. Mr. Keogh offered to give an answer to any particular question. He will, therefore, be pleased to give a particular account of his conversation with Sir Evan Nepean.

Keogh. If the General Committee desire it?

E. Sweetman. Only desires to hear of *public* matters, not private and confidential communications, but persists in his demand.

Keogh. Communicated it already to the other delegates in London.

Devereux. No! Only said that Nepean desired him to use strong language.

Keogh. Anxious that revealing it may prejudice Nepean. Did converse with him for forty minutes, in which he drew out of him that strong language would be most efficacious. The only consequence of this will be, that future Secretaries will be more cautious how they converse with people. Recapitulates his past services.

Devereux, to explain. Did say that Keogh, in the last interview, did not press the English Ministers for a positive answer.

Keogh. Ill health; but the English Minister was so pressed by others, that he declared often, that, from the delicacy of his situation, he could not give more information than he had done, and that he had been more explicit than ever Minister had been. Defence of Hobart's sincerity; great difficulties in Parliament from state of Protestant ascendency; and doubts of success, from connecting our cause with the successes of the French. (Heard very coolly.)

Randall Macdonnell. Motion unnecessary. All information known to Sub-committee and country gentlemen. This kind of examination is turning the General Committee into a kind of secret committee, and compelling men to accuse themselves; fishing for evidence out of their own mouths. The object of the mission was to get the King's answer; that answer was favorable, therefore they appear to have done their duty, and should receive the thanks of the General Committee.

E. Sweetman. If all information be given, he *must* be satisfied. Passions and interests of monopolists, the reasons of our failure, as is said, &c. Narrative of proceedings of Executive Council. (See my journals of that date)—(a heavy long speech.)

Dr. Ryan. Rather meet to congratutate each other on what we have got, than condole on what has been withheld. Time must effectuate what has been left undone.—(A very classical and elegant essay on the advantages of the present bill.)

D. T. O'Brien. Moves an address of thanks to his Majesty to be prepared.

J. Sweetman. Presents two addresses, and moves that they be submitted to a committee. (Referred to a committee of the whole.)

Mr. Byrne in the chair. First paragraph read.

Dr. Macnevin. Objects to the word "*substantial,*" as conveying, or being liable to be twisted to convey an idea of complete satisfaction. Catholics still in a state of subordination and inferiority. Moves his own address.

Keogh. Approves of the present one. The people will not be pleased with any thing like a spirit of demand in the address: (tedious and feeble.)

Teeling. Agreed on two points. First, to express our loyalty as strongly as possible. Secondly, to assert, with all possible

gentleness, our determination to seek for what has been withheld. Proposes an amendment.

Dr. Ryan. The address *is* prospective. Proves it by several extracts.

E. Sweetman, &c. Nothing.

Sir Thomas French. Grateful, and desirous to show it in the most gracious manner. Nothing in the present address, which can possibly prevent applications in future.

Devereux. Specchifying sadly all this day, &c.

Notes on slips of paper.—Most interesting sight to behold the committee now, and to compare it with last December.

This kind of attack has been of infinite service to Keogh. If they had let him alone, he would have gone down.

8th SITTING—*April* 17, 1793.

Th. Fitzgerald in the chair.

The committee ordered to prepare an address to the King, report and present an address, which, being read, paragraph by paragraph, was agreed to unanimously.

1. *Resolved*, That the address be forthwith engrossed.

2. *Resolved*, That the committee who prepared the address to the King, do prepare another to his excellency the Lord Lieutenant.

Mr. Edward Sweetman gave notice that he would bring forward certain resolutions which he read.

The Chairman from the Committee of Accounts reported progress and asked leave to sit again. Granted.

The Chairman from the committee appointed to draw up an address to the Lord Lieutenant, reported, and, the same being read, paragraph by paragraph, was agreed to. Ordered to be engrossed forthwith.

3. Moved that a letter of thanks be prepared to Major Hobart for presenting the petition of the Catholics to the House of Commons, praying for a total repeal of the penal laws, and for the firm and decided support which he gave to the bill for their relief, which he introduced, and which passed this session. And that a committee of seven be appointed to bring in the same. Adjournment to ten o'clock to-morrow.

RICHARD M'CORMICK,
JOHN SWEETMAN,
TH. WOLFE TONE.
} *Secretaries.*

Notes on the debate.

T. Fitzgerald in the chair.

Dr. Macneven, from the Committee on the Address, appointed yesterday, reports the same. Read, paragraph by paragraph, and ordered to be engrossed forthwith.

Hamill moves a committee to prepare an address to the Lord Lieutenant. Ordered, &c.

Ed. Sweetman. Reads a string of resolutions, and gives notice that he will move the same to-morrow—(plaudits.)

Teeling. Reports progress from Committee of Accounts, and asks leave to sit again. He hopes to be ready to-morrow. Granted.

Braughall. To request the delegates who have made collections, will make returns of same to Committee of Accounts.

Dr. Ryan. Reports "Address to the Lord Lieutenant." Read paragraph by paragraph.

Lynch. If intended to compliment, this address cannot stand. If not, it may. The General Committee will choose which they mean to do.

Devereux. Philippic against administration. Loyal to King, but will stigmatize the enemies to the Catholics.

Lynch. "That the Lord Lieutenant ought to be thanked, as being *separate* from his administration."

M'Cormick. The address is of a grateful nature.

Teeling. A small eulogy on Major Hobart.

N. B. The address to the Lord Lieutenant passed with the dissent of the two Wexford delegates, *who have been instructed so to do by their constituents*, and ordered to be engrossed forthwith.

Randall Macdonnell. That same committee be ordered to prepare an address or letter to Mr. Hobart, and request his permission to present him with a piece of plate worth £ 500.

Devereux. Begs to be left off the committee if such be appointed, as he thinks Major Hobart the cause of curtailing the intentions of his Majesty for a total emancipation.

Sir T. French. Defends Hobart from the charge. Minister in England never allowed him to say that the King intended our total emancipation.

Devereux. Minister did. For he said they might bring in a bill for the whole.

Sir T. French. No, no; a petition only.

Devereux. It is the same thing.

Sir T. French. Ample justice done to the claims of the Catholic body by the deputation in England. In Ireland they were the last to accede to any measure short of total emancipation. Deputation pressed Hobart, to which he said, If Catholics were not satisfied (*vide my journals,*) were they prepared for a struggle? No. They were, therefore, obliged either to acknowledge satisfaction for what they got, or to go to war. If Hobart turned out the majority, opposition would not join him, would communicate with him only on their legs. Therefore, he, as one, thought Hobart's conduct meritorious.

D. Macnevin. Hobart, with the actual friends to total emancipation, might have forced the Castle-hacks. On the contrary, he did himself divide the House against the question. Hobart sufficiently thanked in the address to the Lord Lieutenant. If he be thanked, what is to be done to our friends?

A. Thompson. Eloge on Hobart, &c.

D. Macnevin. Mentions conduct of Lord W————d, in riding about to get addresses against the Catholics, and treatment of Hobart to their deputations on former occasions. Cites Keogh as his authority.

E. Sweetman. Attack on Hobart. Why did he put the supposition of Lord Hillsborough to the deputation? He takes the question of your enemy, and demands your answer. He has a majority in both houses, and suffers the Secret Committee to villify the Catholics. Will you thank him for that? It has been asked, Were the Catholics prepared for war? That was not the question; it could not be, for your enemies were unnerved; King and army were with the Catholics; they admitted, themselves, that they were unsupported, and had more to lose than the Catholics. War is not the means of emancipation, but a cutting off of all intercourse, like America. This preliminary step would answer every purpose of war. It has been said, if majority was dismissed, he could get no successors for them, and so must have lost himself. Well! better so, if the country is saved; but is Ireland so barren of corruption? It has been said his Majesty did not wish total emancipation. A libel on his Majesty. The King must wish for a total emancipation of all his subjects. He gave a Constitution to Canada, why not to Ireland? His in-

terest is to unite all his subjects in support of the Constitution, and peculiarly so at this time. As to major Hobart, for the acts of the Secret Committee, for his adoption of the question of Lord Hillsborough, and for his deceiving the Catholics, he, Edward Sweetman, would vote against him.

A. Thompson. Rebellion in Belfast, by report of Secret Committee.

Teeling. Rises in a heat to vindicate the honor of that city. Defies any man to prove any correspondence with France. If there was an invasion of eight thousand French, it would be publicly known long since : these must be idle rumors. Belfast equal in loyalty and justice to any part of our country, (plaudits.) To the people of Belfast is owing the meeting of this committee, and all the consequent benefits which have resulted therefrom. (plaudits.) As to Hobart, this question is likely to produce a division ; best, therefore, to withdraw the motion, and take the private opinions of gentlemen. It may, perhaps, be advisable to agree to it, as an example to future Secretaries, but, at any rate, best reconsider it.

A. Thompson. Apologizes for what he said of Belfast. (plaudits.)

Randall M'Donnell. Persists in his motion, but divides it : 1st. A letter to Secretary Hobart. 2d. An order to Treasurer for £ 500, for a piece of plate.

Lewines. A very sensible and spirited speech, against giving any degree of thanks, greater than the merits of Secretary Hobart.

Mansfield. Wishes to postpone the question. Reads accounts of a meeting at Waterford, deprecating separate addresses. Desultory debate on the merits of Secretary Hobart.

9th SITTING—*April* 18, 1793.

James Archbold, Esq. in the chair.

1. *Resolved,* That a committee of seven be appointed to draw up a letter of thanks to Secretary Hobart, and that the following gentlemen form the said committee, MM. R. Macdonnell, Fitzgerald, Teeling, Warren, Keogh, Hamill, and Dr. Ryan.

Mr. Devereux gave notice that he would, on the next meeting, move certain resolutions relative to the future applications

to our gracious Sovereign, and to the Legislature, for the entire removal of all the disqualifications and degradations under which we still labor.

Mr. Randall Macdonnell reported, from the committee appointed to prepare the address to Secretary Hobart; and, the same being read, it was resolved that the same be recommitted, and the following gentlemen were added to the present committee, Sir Th. French, Messrs. Devereux, Mansfield, Lefebvre, Lynch, Captain Sweetman, and Dr. Macnevin.

Captain Sweetman having read certain resolutions—*Resolved*, That the same be referred to the committee above named, and that said committee do report at ten o'clock on Saturday next.

Resolved, That the chair be taken on Saturday next at ten o'clock precisely; and that the address to the King be signed on Saturday morning.

Notes of the Debate.

James Archbold, Esq. in the chair.

Randall Macdonnell. To appoint the committee to prepare a letter to Secretary Hobart: committee struck.

Mr. Geraghty. To remind the committee of their standing rule, that minority should concede to majority.

R. Macdonnell. Reports the letter to Secretary Hobart.

Opposed by McCormick, Devereux, and Edward Sweetman, on the ground of containing an inconsistency, in thanking Mr. Hobart for introducing the petition, for the whole measure, and for his vote, which was against the prayer thereof.

R. Macdonnell. Contra.

McCormick. Sub-committee agreed that the Secretary should bring in the petition only on condition; he supported the prayer. The Deputation may have agreed otherwise; the Sub-committee did not.

Fitzgerald. The deputation never did agree to any thing like an admission, that less would satisfy the Catholics than the whole, though pressed very hard by Secretary Hobart to that purpose. But they did, as individuals, consider the bill as conveying substantial relief; they would not, however, allow their private opinions to be quoted. Praises the Sub-committee. Any attack on them will only cover their opponents with obloquy and contempt.

McCormick. Deputation *did* act, not *against*, but *without* the sanction of Sub-committee, in giving the petition to Secretary Hobart, knowing that he would not support the prayer thereof; and, in that, acted improperly.

Keogh. Deprecates disunion. All our strength little enough to face our common enemies. If censure must fall, why let it; but let business go on. Who were that deputation? MM. Byrne, O'Brien, &c. (Edward Sweetman. Question.) (Plaudits, but Sub-committee very indignant with Sweetman.)

Note of the Editor.—The rest of that debate is lost. The letter was put up for recommittal, and seven additional gentlemen joined to the committee, amongst others, Sweetman, Devereux, and Dr. McNevin.

10th Sitting—*April* 19, 1798.

Note of the Editor.—The account of this sitting is amongst the papers lost, all but the last page, containing the following resolutions, (probably those of Mr. Devereux, announced in the sitting of the previous day.)

The 4th resolution was then read and agreed to. "Thanks to Parliament."

The 5th resolution was then read and agreed to.

The 6th resolution was then read and agreed to.

The Chairman from the Committee on Accounts reported progress, and begged leave to sit again; granted.

7th. *Resolved*, That this committee shall, on Monday morning, take into consideration, whether, having despatched all necessary business, it would be wise and prudent to dissolve.

8th. *Resolved*, That the deputation ordered to wait on Secretary Hobart, do wait also on Secretary Hamilton, with copies of the addresses, to know when his Excellency will be at leisure to receive the same.

And the committee then adjourned.

Note of the Editor.—The notes of this debate, and the memorandum and notes of the eleventh sitting, of the General Committee, are both amongst the lost papers.

12th SITTING—*April* 23, 1793.

Sir Thomas Esmonde, Bart., in the chair.

The Chairman of the Committee of Honorable Engagements, presented their report, which, being received, was then read, and the following resolutions were agreed to:

1. *Resolved*, That the sum of £1,500 be made up, and presented to Mr. Tone, as a testimony of his services, and of our gratitude, together with a medal, bearing a suitable inscription, value, thirty guineas.

2. *Resolved*, That the Honorable Simon Butler, to whom the Catholics of Ireland are indebted for the very able Digest of the Popery laws, the introduction prefixed thereto, and the notes annexed to their petition to his Majesty, be requested to prepare a summary of the Popery laws, now in force, and that the sum of £500 be given for the same.

3. *Resolved*, That the further sum of £500 be lent to William Todd Jones, Esq. making, together, the sum of £1000 sterling.

4. *Resolved*, That the third further sum of £500 sterling be lent to William Todd Jones, Esq. provided there be funds to countervail the same after the positive engagements of the General Committee be discharged.

5. *Resolved*, That Counsellors Tone and Lynch be requested to prepare a proper certificate of the declaration and oath required to be taken to enable Catholics to vote at elections for Members of Parliament, having been so taken; and that Counsellor Lynch do wait on Lord Clonmell, in order that his Lordship may prevent the officers of his Court from requiring improper fees for giving a legal certificate.

6. *Resolved*, That James Nangle, Esq. be the Chairman of this committee to-morrow. Mr. Teeling proposed a resolution respecting the Defenders; which was received, and referred to the Committee for Honorable Engagements.

It was then declared that the chair would be taken at 11 o'clock to-morrow, and that the question of the dissolution should be the order of the day. And then the committee adjourned.

Note of the Editor.—The debate of this day is lost.

13th SITTING—*April* 24, 1793.

James Nangle, Esq. in the chair. The order of the day was read, That the question of dissolution should be first taken into consideration, namely, That it is not wise and expedient for this Committee, after having despatched all business, to dissolve. Resolved, That the consideration of the said question be postponed.

Notes of the Debate.

Mr. Nangle in the chair.

Fitzgerald. Recommends unanimity, (vide resolutions;) moves the question of dissolution.

Hamill. Seconds. If dissolved, let us use plain language: Arts to divide us. To one party is said, "Will you join Republicans and Levellers?" There are none such. To the other, the Catholics have sold you, and left you in the lurch. Nothing can effectuate complete emancipation, but union with our Protestant brethren. Principle of reform recognized by Parliament, *ergo* not disrespectful and necessary to show our Protestant brethren that we have not deserted them.

Sir T. French. Not delegated by the body to speak on this question; not authorized. If reform takes place, it must shut out the Catholics forever, for Government will manage it so. Sentiment of constituents. Agitation of public mind has hurt credit. Reform will aggravate all this. County Galway thinks complete reform complete confusion. If people think it a factious and seditious measure, they will oppose it, and publish Crown and Anchor resolutions. Dungannon is now put down; gentlemen are going about courting support, which is very unfair.

Dr. Ryan. If you lay down the Catholic question, you must take up that of reform. The remnants of the Popery code are not enough to interest the people. Men will not exert themselves to make such a man a Judge, or such a man a Member of Parliament. You must lay aside your own question, because you are not supported by your own people, nor other parties. If you act as a sect, it may be doubtful, but if you dissolve, you must speak for reform. The elective franchise does not give you sufficient weight, as it can operate but on sixty-four members. Better become capable to be members yourselves. You must di-

rect your fire against the Monopolists; ceasing to be a sect, it is, from our numbers, more particularly our interest. If reform is obtained, the penal code goes down at once; (most beautiful description of liberty!) What prevents you from coalescing with your Protestant brethren? Nothing! Not religion. It is the spirit of the present times to let religion make its own way by its own merits. No possibility of reviving controversy. Not disrespectful to Parliament, who have recognized the principle of reform, and certainly not prejudicial if we agree to dissolve. In reform, all distinctions fall at once. (Attack on ecclesiastical establishments and tythes; choice good.) Separation from England. Either regards the King or British influence. Every man ready to defend the King, but as to influence it is a different question. Friend to a fair and equal connexion with Britain. No friend to a mere Catholic interest, nor desirous to see Catholic Ascendency succeed Protestant Ascendency. Let us lay down the little character of a sect, and take up the character of a people.

Edward Sweetman and *Macnevin*. Second him.

A. Thomson (an infernal tory.)

Lynch. No reform without a general revolution of opinion and of property. (Heard very coolly.)

Teeling. To postpone this consideration.

Edw. Sweetman. Against delay. Unite, according to his Majesty's recommendation, with your fellow subjects.

O. O'Conner. Heartily for the motion. It has been said no reform, for the Catholics are satisfied; a false assertion, and most unworthy of the Catholics.

Dr. Ryan. It is more peculiarly the Catholic interest. We are sent here to accomplish Catholic emancipation; no means but by reform. If property is to be affected, must the abuses be therefore eternal? This is the language of the Castle. They say to Reformers, "Catholics have sold you," to produce perpetual division. Administration will first divide, and then ruin you, when you have deserted and disgusted your only ally. Remember great services of Belfast.

Fitzgerald. Unworthy of the benefits we have received, if we do not use them for the liberty of our country.

Dr. Daly. Difficulty of the friends to constitutional reform to frame a plan, from their doubt as to the sentiment of Catholics.

Question put and carried, with one negative (Sir Thomas French.)

14*th* SITTING—*April* 25, 1793.

James Joseph Macdonnell, Esq. in the chair. Mr. Teeling, from the Committee of Accounts, reports the schedule.

1. *Resolved,* That the same be printed for the use of the members.

2. *Resolved,* That a deputation be appointed to wait on the Duke of Leinster, to request his permission to place the statue of his Majesty, voted by this Committee, in the lawn of Leinster house, and that this deputation do consist of the following gentlemen, Mr. Fitzgerald, Capt. Sweetman, and Mr. Mansfield.

3. *Resolved,* That John Comerford, Esq. be continued our Treasurer, and that every county delegate, together with seven delegates resident in Dublin, to be chosen by ballot, be now appointed to superintend the collection and application of money, in pursuance of the said resolutions, and for no other purposes whatsoever; and that it be our instruction to said delegates to transmit to each delegate an account of the money received and expended, as soon as the objects for which they are appointed shall have been accomplished, and that five be a quorum.

4. *Resolved,* That the delegates to his Majesty, having refused furnishing any account of their expenses on that commission, which must have been considerable,

5. *Resolved,* That a piece of plate, value one hundred guineas, be presented to each of the five delegates, who presented the petition of the Catholics of Ireland to his Majesty, and that a suitable inscription be engraved thereon.

6. *Resolved,* That the following gentlemen be requested to sit for their pictures, in order that the same may be placed with those already voted. Sir Thomas French, Mr. James Edward Devereux, Mr. Christopher Bellew, and Capt. Edmund Sweetman, of Wexford.

R. McCORMICK,
J. SWEETMAN,
T. WOLFE TONE,
} *Secretaries.*

LETTERS

From the United Irishmen of Belfast during the year 1793.

DEAR EQUAL: We had a meeting of Belfast this day, which was numerously attended, for the purpose of addressing his Majesty for his gracious interposition in favor of Catholic emancipation. We were unanimous. I was Secretary. The . . . prepared a paper which blew hot and cold to his Majesty at the same time. We thought a compliment ought not to be mixed with complaint, and adopted one quite simple but very loyal. County Down meets on Monday. I mean to attend and let you know the result as soon as convenient.

SAM. NEILSON.

January 19, 1793.

DEAR SIR: Yesterday assembled at Antrim, delegates from thirty-five volunteer companies of this county, representing above two thousand men, and unanimously agreed, 1st. To associate all the volunteers of the county into one body, and recommend similar associations to the volunteers throughout the kingdom, preparatory to a union of the whole. 2d. To appoint a committee for one year, who are to have the sole direction of the volunteers of the county, and fix on a mode of exercise; determine the time and place of reviews; appoint Generals, and fix the quantity of ammunition, accoutrements, and stores necessary for each corps. 3d. To a circular address to all the volunteers of the county; and they agreed not to publish any resolutions, and recommend the same to all volunteers.

Many corps had got no intelligence of the meeting. From what information we could obtain, there are sixty corps in the county, who amount to about three thousand men, and will be five thousand before midsummer. The gunpowder bill excited universal indignation. We are taking effectual steps to provide the necessary articles and stores for volunteers. Opposition are acting from fear of the people. They will repent, perhaps, when too late, for Government certainly only mean to humbug them. Farewell. R. S.

February 12, 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND : Sinclair attends at Dungannon, but it will be too late for you to communicate with him, as we expect the business will be finished on Saturday. The proceedings there and the resolutions from every quarter of the province are the only answers necessary to any person who doubts the Presbyterians. Here many of the Aristocrats propagate doubts respecting the Catholics, but no person cherishes them, and though ignorant of the steps they are taking, we have the fullest reliance on them, and depend they are doing right. R. S.

February 13, 1793.

MY DEAR FRIEND : I was at Dungannon, and do not dislike the resolutions so much as you seem to do. I wish I saw any thing like them, or even half like them, from the other provinces. As to the third resolution, take it with the commentary, and I fancy, on reflection, you will not disapprove of it. But what signifies resolutions? They will never recover to the people their long lost rights. Or what is more? What signify the united exertions of four or five spirited counties, who aim at rational liberty, without money, without arms, without ammunition, opposed to an armed force of thirty thousand men ; to a secret divan, who have the disposal of £ 32,000,000 annually, and as much more as they choose to borrow, backed by one of the most powerful nations in Europe?—I say what signifies such exertions, against such opponents, when *not supported by the people?* In such a situation they become of the nature of sedition ; and when against the implied sense of the nation, should terminate. It is true, a few honest men, by going forward, may sacrifice themselves as victims ; but is the state of the people bettered by all this? I cannot see how. And I will add, that when a nation does not express a wish to be free, it ought not to be made so, contrary to its will. We have now in this town, one regiment ; in Lisburn, five companies and two troops of horse ; in Lurgan, two companies and two troops of horse ; in Hillsborough, one company and two troops of horse ; accompanied in the whole by eight brass fieldpieces and two howitzers, with their proportion of men. These are strong arguments against the people, and in our present state irresistible. If, however, the rest of the nation was ready, this country would not be deficient in spirit. We

complain that you give us no account of the proceedings in Dublin; no opinion on the plans of Government; no information how the Catholics relish Hobart's bill; no intelligence of their views respecting reform; in short, that you leave us completely in the dark, at a time when a storm is obviously collecting round our devoted heads. Remember I am a plain honest man, and like to talk my mind without reserve, to those I can confide in. Two persons of indifferent character have been summoned before the *Star Chamber* from this town. Pray what does this court tend to, or to what point are their views directed? Why do you not inform us on all these points, when you call for news from this sterile corner, where we make all our proceedings public to the world? I wrote to Keogh last night a similar letter, and stated to him that he would probably look upon it as peevish. I dare say you will do the same. Be it so; peevishness itself is gratified by expression, and I feel myself the better for having given it utterance.

Yours, SAM. NEILSON.

P. S. You are in a mistake about the French war. It was uncommonly reprobated at Dungannon by a strong resolution.

February 28, 1793.

Dear Sir: I dare say you will have heard much of disturbances here. I think it my duty from friendship and fellow-citizenship to state the facts to you. On Saturday four troops of the 17th dragoons, came here from two neighboring towns; at six in the evening about thirty of them burst out from their lodgings, and with drawn sabres, accompanied by about six or eight artillerymen, proceeded to demolish several signs of Dumourier, Mirabeau, Franklin, Washington, &c. From this they proceeded to the houses of several individuals, McCabe, &c. and broke windows, shutters, &c. cutting and abusing every person they met with in the street, in a most unmerciful manner. This military mob reigned for about an hour. The empire of the laws began then to be restored. The officers and magistrates were at length found. The volunteers began to assemble, and the depredators soon took to their heels. Some were secured, but afterwards liberated by their officers. The volunteers mounted guard

all night. Yesterday the town met, appointed a committee to inquire and report, and the volunteers reassembled in the evening, filled the houses that were suspected to be attacked, and formed two reserves, in all about four hundred and fifty to five hundred. This turned the scale; the military took the alarm, bowed and begged pardon, and this day the whole regiment of horse were ordered to leave town in fifteen minutes warning by General White, whose conduct has been highly proper. Tranquillity is perfectly restored; we have forgiven the troop and permitted the offenders to depart with their corps; and we remain, standing to our arms, without having offended or given cause of offence to a single military man.

SAM. NEILSON.

March 11, 1793.

My Dear Friend: Saturday night presented a new scene to the inhabitants of Belfast. A military mob for a while reigning in all their glory. About one o'clock of that day four troops of dragoons arrived in this city, and about half after six, the greatest part of them, with a few artillerymen and a few of the 55th regiment, (quartered here,) began their career by demolishing a sign on which Dumourier was drawn, and breaking the windows of the house. They then proceeded to another ale house which had the sign of Mirabeau; this was treated in the same way; and not a whole pane left in the front of the house. During these exploits every inhabitant that either attempted to approach them, or was passing accidentally, was assaulted, and some of them wounded severely. They then proceeded down North street, destroying a number of windows on their way, till they came to our friend M'Cabe's. This and the adjoining shop, belonging to a Mr. Orr, a zealous volunteer, were attacked with the utmost fury, and parties of them went on to destroy a house which had the venerable Franklin for a sign, and to a milliner's shop, who had trimmed the helmets of the volunteer light horse. But the magistrates and officers of the regiment in town, now appearing, they dispersed, after several of them were taken prisoners. Fortunately for them they did so, for the volunteers began to assemble and would soon have finished them. During this business, the dragoons were repeatedly observed to read a card

with the names of houses which they were to assault, amongst which were M'Cabe's, Neilson's, Hasliffs, Kilburne's, and the Star office, with some others not remembered by the persons who heard them. The two corps of volunteers each mounted a guard of sixty men, and the town remained quiet during the night. For a short while on Sunday there was a calm; but it was of short duration; those military savages, parading the streets in great numbers with haughty demeanor, and often using threats. General White arriving in town about two o'clock, restored calm by ordering them to their barrack. At three a meeting of the inhabitants took place, where a committee was appointed, consisting of the magistrates and sixteen other inhabitants, who were to inquire and report the cause of the riot, and take such steps as they might think necessary for the peace of the town. General White promised, on his part, to take every step that was proper to keep the military quiet, and ordered the troops to stable duty an hour earlier than usual. However, it was observed that during the town meeting, parties of them were going through the town, and marking some houses. This alarmed the inhabitants, and about five the volunteers began to assemble. In a short time they were above four hundred strong. The mob also gathered in great force, and began to threaten vengeance, and the military in their turn to tremble. A kind of negotiation took place between General White and the committee, the result of which was that the General pledged himself for the peaceable demeanor of the military, and the committee engaged that the volunteers should go home. This took place; the town remained quiet during the night, and this day, on a requisition from the committee, the dragoons were ordered out of town. Thus ended a matter which might have involved the whole kingdom in bloodshed; for, had the riots continued, the whole of the neighboring volunteers would have come to town. It is beyond a doubt that this plan was laid in Hillsborough, and that some of the officers were abettors and encouragers of it. The sentiments contained in your large packet are perfectly similar to what are entertained here, and we are as much on our guard as you could wish.

Yours, R. S.

Note of the Editor.—This scene was only a preliminary symptom of the new spirit of the Irish administration, and of that reign of terror and mili-

To Richard McCormick, Esq.

Dear Sir: Will you excuse an unfortunate persecuted northern incendiary, the liberty of asking once more his reputed countryman and friend, one simple question. Is Ireland abandoned? I mean by those who have the necessary abilities and confidence to lead the great majority of the Catholics: If so, let us all join in the act. We once united, or appeared to unite, in an effort to rescue our common country. She has not been rescued. Where lies the cause? Who are in fault? Each party is apt to exculpate itself, but I suppose the fault must be laid at our door, especially if the old adage, that what every person says must be true, is to be relied upon. Every man who has a part in governing this country, blames us; every man who fattens on church and state, blames us; almost every Protestant out of Ulster, blames us; every man of landed property throughout all Ireland, blames us; and, strange to tell, those men who stimulated us to action, those men who pledged themselves to risque all in the common cause; those men who alone have benefitted by our exertions—in one word, the Catholics of Ireland, if we are to suppose that their representatives know any thing of their sentiments, are decided in condemning us. For, not to speak of their refusal to include us among their friends, when they were concluding their business as a convention, they could not, when assembled the other day in a festive capacity, omit insulting this Province. Yes! I will repeat it, the meeting at Dely's insulted the Province of Ulster; because, when ransacking the very dregs of royalty, aristocracy, and pseudo-patriotism for toasts, they tacitly condemned one-fourth of their

tary license by which they determined to drive the people to insurrection. Is it wonderful, that, against such a Government, and such a system, they should rise and seek foreign aid, when the king and people of England gave them up, and even assisted their tyrants?

M'Cabe, the chief sufferer on this occasion, was a man admirably calculated to resist oppression, and full of opposition stuff. He had all the stubbornness of a Hampden in his disposition. As soon as the riot was over, he hung up a new sign post, with the words "M'Cabe, an Irish slave." He would never allow his windows to be repaired, but kept them in their shattered state as a monument. The magistrates of the city begged in vain to restore them at their expense: one pane alone had escaped the soldiers fury. On the king's approaching birth day, when orders were given for a general illumination, he stuck that pane full of candles, but let the broken ones remain; observing that the military could do nothing more to them.

countrymen, the body who saved them, when deserted or opposed by all those whom they toasted on the 20th inst. Your prudence in overlooking Mr. Tandy, who has been destroyed in your cause; your wisdom in disregarding the sufferings of Mr. Butler, Bond, and Reynolds, who were imprisoned for you, and your temperance in neglecting this town, which has been abandoned for four months past to martial law on your account, cannot but be highly gratifying to every true Irishman. But your omitting to mention the Dunganmon convention, which represented one million and a quarter of your countrymen, and which demanded the restoration of your rights in particular, as well as of the rights of Ireland in general, was such an act of ——— as will not in future be believed, and which I confess I never can forget. I speak to you, my dear friend, the language of a warm, but of an honest Irishman, and I know you too well to think you will censure me for it; I may be mistaken, but you know I am not easily operated on; trifles do not usually affect me. I thought it my duty to communicate with one, who I believe to have similar feelings with myself on such occasions, and I will be much gratified by a reply, as soon as convenient.

I am, &c. yours,

SAML. NEILSON.

26*th August*, 1793.

DEAR TONE: I have received an unpleasant letter from Samuel Neilson, in consequence of that unlucky dinner, containing complaints and heavy charges, some exaggerated, but in general too well founded. He requires a reply from me. I did not think I could, in the compass of a letter, give him that ample satisfaction I wish, and he has a right to expect; therefore, having some pressing business to Newry, I have determined to push on to Belfast, and have an interview with him, for which purpose I am just setting off. I leave his letter behind me for your inspection.

Yours, sincerely,

R. M'CORMICK.

To T. W. TONE, Esq.

LONDON, *September* 21, 1793.

DEAR SIR: I have for a long time been seeking a safe opportunity of writing. It is at present afforded by Mr. Corsadine, just appointed an Ensign in Major Doyle's corps. Corsadine was recommended to me by Todd Jones, who entreated I would endeavor to do something for this young man. I tried several lines in vain, but at length my friend's Regiment offers the means. I will, however, solicit very earnestly the aid of you and your colleagues to enable Corsadine to raise men; because, as Doyle is authorized to sell the ensigncies, if Corsadine does not get recruits it is really so much out of the Major's pocket as the commission would have brought.

Now to my business. I read to Lord Loughborough the paper which was entrusted to me, and sustained the representation with all the argument I could use. The statement was treated by him as very unimportant, and I could get nothing from him beyond an admission that the Irish Chancellor had not been judicious in his behavior. I read it also to the Prince of Wales. But by him it was received very differently indeed. Whatsoever his counsel can do will be exerted to procure attention to the business. His influence, however, is unfortunately very trifling.

There is *now* not the least chance of my coming to you as Lord Lieutenant. I wish you would take care that this be made generally understood, because I have great reason to think that Ministerial people on your side of the water, from time to time, propagate the report, in the belief that the expectation lulls dissatisfaction, which might otherwise embarrass administration.

Accept, my dear sir, every good wish from me, and believe that, with a warm recollection of the kindness I received from you all, I have the honor to remain your very faithful and obedient servant, MOIRA.

CROSSNAWYD, *near Wrexham.*

TO THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, Esq.: Your letter is serious indeed, and I feel a deep conviction of the truth of its representation. Often have I told you that the democracy of Ireland was not to be relied upon; not because the people in themselves were

inferior to any created race, but because domestic division, ancient habits of servitude, and British arts, had made the Irish people *talkers*, loquacious, indolent, and I *fear* cowardly: but I will croak no more.

I receive your kind letter buried in the wilds of Denbighshire, and know nothing further of Dr. Edwards, regarding the time of his Irish visitation, than I acquainted you with before, but I conjecture it to be about this date. I have had a short letter from his friend Mr. Cutting since I have been here, introducing a Major Jackson, who was Aid-de-camp to Washington, and afterwards Secretary to the Grand Convention which formed the present Federal Constitution; but he does not cross the channel, and neither he nor Cutting mentioned Edwards's departure. This day brings me a bulky packet of long arrived letters from my habitation in London, which Borrowes would not venture to enclose before, knowing the possible eccentricity of my wandering motions. Three from John Sweetman, yours, two from Lord Moira, and a long one from Belfast, none of which I have yet acknowledged.

Ireland is testifying herself a besotted nation; but is not England still more ignominious? So says one of my correspondents; to all which I can only reply, that I always thought it injudicious in the Irish to afford, by expressions, handles for the exercise of tyranny under the language of the Constitution; and that to preach political sermons, under our situation, in the language of the National Assembly, was to show our teeth when we could not bite—was to pluck the apple before it was ripe—and was summoning the wolf to devour the lamb.

But with all that prodigious shower of wisdom with which I am favoring you, I see nothing very tremendous to the cause of Irish liberty in my Lord Fitzgibbon's gambols and Star-chamber rescripts. The more of them the better, for the sooner comes the crisis; that is, if the Irish people choose to be free, or are capable of it; and if they do not choose it, or are incapable of it, in the name of God, why need a few burthen their minds, exhaust their fortunes, and waste their best hours, to prevent or protract the political suicide of this or of any other country?

And so, God bless you, and direct your steps and determinations. If you favor me with one line, I will write you two in return.

WM. TODD JONES.

P. S. I will certainly walk into some of your parlors about November, as I have a curiosity to hear what the geese are saying in the pie about that time, *and a dirty nest it is.*

I hope this will be opened at the Post Office. I would give a crown to hear Lord Chancellor read it; and the clean-mouthed Clonmell and courtly Dillon descant upon Todd Jones. If my contempt and detestation and defiance for the three could be increased, that would do it.

To John Russell, Esq.

DEAR RUSSELL: I shall break you, in postage, by these enclosures. Do you know I am so mad as to have been writing a small pamphlet on the chimericalness of the fear of an assumption of forfeited lands, and some other stumbling blocks? How do you go on! Yours, faithfully,

WM. TODD JONES.

P. S. Shall I dedicate to the Society of United Irishmen? It ought to be called Tone's work, for he set me upon doing some good or mischief.

STATEMENT

Of the Situation of Ireland, found on Jackson's arrest, April, 1794, *and written by my Father.*

The situation of England and Ireland are fundamentally different in this: The Government of England is national; that of Ireland provincial. The interest of the first is the same with that of the people. Of the last, directly opposite. The people of Ireland are divided into three sects, the established church, the Dissenters and the Catholics. The first, infinitely the smallest portion, have engrossed, besides the whole church patronage, all the profits and honors of the country, and a very great share of the landed property. They are, of course, all aristocrats, adverse to any change, and decidedly enemies to the French Revolution. The Dissenters, who are much more numerous, are the most enlightened body of the nation. They are devoted to liberty, and, through all its changes, enthusiasti-

cally attached to the French Revolution. The Catholics, the great body of the nation, are in the lowest degree of ignorance and want; ready for any change, because no change can make them worse; they have, within these two years, received a great degree of information, and manifested a proportional degree of discontent, by various insurrections, (they are known by the name of Defenders,) There is no where a greater spirit of aristocracy than in all the privileged orders—the clergy and the gentry of Ireland, down to the very lowest; to countervail which, there seems to be a spirit rising amongst the people, which never appeared before, but which is spreading most rapidly, as will appear by the Defenders and other insurgents. If the people of Ireland be 4,500,000, as seems probable, the established church may be reckoned at 450,000, the Defenders at 900,000, the Catholics at 3,150,000. In Ireland, a conquered and oppressed and insulted country, the name of England and her power is universally odious, save with those who have an interest in maintaining it, such as the Government and its connections, the church and its dependencies, the great landed property, &c.; but the power of these people, being founded on property, the first convulsion would level it with the dust. On the contrary, the great bulk of the people would probably throw off the yoke, if they saw any force in the country, sufficiently strong to resort to for defence. It seems idle to suppose that the prejudices of England against France, spring merely from the republicanism of the French; they proceed rather from a spirit of rivalship, encouraged by continued wars. In Ireland the Dissenters are enemies to the English power, from reason and reflection; the Catholics from hatred to the English name. In a word, the prejudices of the one country are directly favorable, and those of the other directly adverse, to an invasion. The Government of Ireland is to be looked upon as a Government of force; the moment a superior force appears, it would tumble at once, as being neither founded in the interests nor in the affections of the people.

It may be said the people of Ireland show no political exertion. In the first place, public spirit is completely depressed by the recent persecution, the gunpowder act, convention bill, &c.; so that they have no way, with safety to themselves, of expressing their discontents, *civiliter;* which is, at the same

time, greatly augmented by these measures. The militia, the great bulk of whom are Catholics, would, to a moral certainty, abandon their leaders. The spirit of Ireland cannot be calculated from newspapers, declarations of Government, or jury and county meetings, where the gentry only meet, and speak for themselves. The church establishment and tythes are very severe grievances, and have been the cause of numberless local insurrections. The gentry not immediately connected, or dependent upon, Government, nevertheless, support it, thinking it a necessary security for their estates. In a word, from reason, reflection, interest, prejudice, the spirit of change, the misery of the great bulk of the nation, and, above all, the hatred of the English name, resulting from the tyranny of nearly seven centuries, there seems little doubt that an invasion, in sufficient force, would be supported. Arms, ammunition, and money, all are wanting.

Very much, perhaps the whole success of the measure, would depend upon the manifesto, to be published on the landing being effected. It should disclaim all idea of conquest; it should set forth, that they came into the country, not as enemies, but as allies, to enable the people to redress their grievances, to assert their rights, to subvert the ancient tyranny of their oppressors, and to establish, on a permanent basis, the independence of their country. It should promise protection, in person and property, to all who should remain in their houses, and demean themselves as dutiful subjects to the state; at the same time holding out the severest penalties to those who should adhere to the cause of the enemies. It should suggest the abolition of all unjust distinctions and oppressive establishments. Many other topics will naturally suggest themselves, but the present may suffice as a sample.

The force necessary may be not more than 20,000, nor less than 10,000 men. Supposing them 10,000—7,000 should land in the west, and having secured and fortified a landing place, should advance into the middle of the country, at the same time 3,000 should land immediately at the capital, and seize on all the stores, and such persons as might be troublesome. In that event, the North would rise to a man, and so having possession of three-fourths of the country, and the capital, the remaining part, were it so inclined, could make no resistance.

LETTERS AND MEMORANDUMS
Of the year 1795.

Memorandum.—February 26, 1795. At a meeting of the Committee. Present MM. Byrne, Braughall, Dr. Ryan, John Sweetman, and Mr. Keogh. Mr. Keogh reported that Mr. Byrne and himself had waited upon Mr. Grattan this morning, and that he had informed them that the determination of the English Cabinet had arrived yesterday; which determination was, that the Catholic bill was to be resisted, and the old Government restored; that, Lord Fitzwilliam intended to appoint Lords Justices, and depart in four days; that the Duke of Leinster, MM. Conolly, Ponsonby, Forbes, &c. were determined to adhere to the Catholic cause, and would never take a part in any administration which should not go unequivocally for the whole measure. That he (Mr. Grattan) would advise the Committee to call upon those gentlemen, to return them thanks for their support, and to hear them declare their sentiments.

My Dear Tone: I did not receive yours till yesterday, having been here since term, a good deal indisposed with cough and weakness of stomach. I am very much mortified at not being in town, in order to execute a commission, which would be very agreeable to me, that of sending you down the sort of memorial you desire. I shall not be in town till Wednesday, which I am afraid is your sailing day; but as vessels seldom sail on the day of their destination, I beg you would write to me to Dawson street, to let me know the exact time of your departure, and how any thing could be sent after you. I wish you would write to me from America, and let me know to whom I should enclose mine, as any letters directed immediately to you, will certainly not get unopened through the post office. It gives me great pleasure to find you are so well reconciled to emigration. It is your lot to-day, it may be mine to-morrow; these are times when every man of steady principles, must expect to have them put to the trial, and if your *Paineism* has sunk you, my *Montesquieuism* may not long keep me afloat. So, as I said before, we may meet again. Yours, truly,

GEORGE KNOX.

Killaloe, May 30, 1795.

My Dear Tone: I have sent you a small parcel, directed to Dr. Macdonnell, which I hope may afford you some entertainment in your voyage. I was afraid of sending any thing cumbrous, as I suppose you have very little room. I beg that you will recommend the Shakspeare particularly to my godson, when he is old enough to understand it.* You will hear soon after your arrival in America, that I have been turned out of my place, dislocated, for such I have some reason to think is the intention of Government. If so, I hope I shall have resolution enough not to turn democrat. Yours, truly,

GEORGE KNOX.

June 5, 1795.

Dear Tone: I embrace with great pleasure the idea and opportunity of renewing our old habits of intimacy and friendship. Long as they have been interrupted, I can assure you that no hostile sentiment towards you ever found admittance into my mind. Regret, allow me the expression, on your account, apprehension for the public, and great pain at being deprived of the social, happy, and unrestrained intercourse which had for so many years subsisted between us, were the sum of my feelings. Some of them, perhaps, were mistaken, but there can be no use now in any retrospect of that kind. It is not without a degree of melancholy I reflect that your present destination makes it probable that we may never meet again, and talk and laugh together, as we used to do, though it is difficult to determine whether these jumbling times might not again bring us together. In all events, I shall be most happy to hear from you, and write to you, often and fully, and to hear of your well being, wherever you may be. If I had known your departure was to have been so very immediate, I would not have suffered you to slip away without a personal meeting. I shall hope to hear from you as soon as you get to America. I formerly had friends there.—The unfortunate death of my brother you have probably heard of; perhaps, however, I may still have some there who might be useful to you. Let me know where, and in what line you

* I keep it yet.—*Note of the Editor.*

think of settling, and, if any of my connections can be of use, I will write to them warmly.—I beg you will give my best regards to Mrs. Tone, and believe me, dear Tone, with great truth, your friend,

W. PLUNKET.

May 29th, 1795.

My Dear Tone: Though you have not written to me, I hear, from an accidental quarter, of your having some idea of a trip across the Atlantic. I have made some American acquaintance here, who are both opulent and respectable. One of whom, Dr. Edwards, a person of immense landed property, is about making an Irish tour. I have, therefore, given him a letter to you, which he will deliver in Dublin. He is a great farmer, and I have gathered from him that he is very desirous to carry away from Ireland, a cargo of Irish families, farmers as well as manufacturers; and, from my conversation with him, he appears honest, intelligent, and spirited. That his acquaintance, and, possibly, a connection with him, may be serviceable to you, was the very first idea which occupied my mind, and I therefore immediately offered him, as favors conferred upon him, letters to my friends in Dublin, Mr. Sweetman and Counsellor Tone; you will then have an opportunity of sounding him, nearly or more remotely respecting yourself, from these documents I write you. He is a great admirer of the North of Ireland. He was, by his own confession, a great Aristocrat in America, and changed principles from conviction. He is a doctor of laws and physic, and, I believe, is a Judge in Philadelphia. He loves the French, and detests the combination against them. He is very gentle and frank in his manners, and grateful for every attention. With affectionate regard to Russell, I remain your faithful friend,

WM. TODD JONES.

P. S. I have spent another day with my American companions and learn that Edwards is a Judge of the Common Pleas at Philadelphia, is possessed of large tracts of territory, and requires settlers. I have puffed you off to him at no very merciful rate of flattery; so pray act up to my picture.—God bless you. Love to Russell.

My Dear Friend: I have just this instant heard from Simon M'Guire that you leave town to-night. I can scarcely believe that you would entirely break yourself away from this country, and from me, amongst the rest, without calling on me, or even writing a line. You know, and I trust will always be convinced, that my friendship and affectionate regard for you is most undiminished. It is not of that nature to shake by adversity, which God knows how soon it may be my lot to undergo. Wherever you are, you shall always command a steady friend in this country, as long as I reside here. Write to me, at least, when you reach your destination, and as often as may suit your convenience. Perhaps your letters may be useful to me for regulating my future settlement in life.—God bless you. Give my most affectionate compliments to Mrs. Tone, and believe me, very sincerely, your's,

T. A. EMMET.

Extracts of Letters to and from America.

Dear Tone: Our internal politics are not much altered since you left this. Grattan and his party have been engaging the Catholics to address his Majesty, jointly with their fellow-citizens, for final emancipation. This they have refused, unless reform be added to it, and that the party of Grattanites should take a lead in the business. Reform does not accord with these gentlemen's views, and they are not yet able to swallow such a pill, but still they continue the intercourse, and I am inclined to think they would concede. The last meeting was on Friday, and the next will be on Tuesday. The result of it shall be communicated to you the first opportunity. At present I think all meetings of the kind are futile, I mean aggregate meetings for addresses and declarations, and that it would be much wiser for us calmly to await the issue of another campaign or two.

R. S.

Belfast, 12*th July*, 1795.

Dear Tone: The newspapers will inform you of the French affairs, and you will, I doubt not, have felt the same hopes and fears that we did respecting *peace*. We are now, however, in

tolerable good spirits, and the news of this day tends to invigorate us, which is the certain intelligence of the French having crossed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and taken the citadel of that place by assault. With respect to our own affairs, they are not so well as I could wish, but still they are far from being in a bad way. The principal thing I dread is that the imprudence of some warm friends to their country may prematurely throw us into action. We are, however, generally in this quarter, striving to repress the ardor of our fellow-laborers. The Defenders in county Meath, Dublin, and Kildare, have been, throughout the summer, very turbulent, and excited general alarms amongst the great, but, as numbers of those unfortunate beings have suffered lately, they will, probably, for a time, be quiet. But it is evident, from the general sentiment of the lower classes of the people, that it will be impossible Ireland can long remain in her present situation. They all look to the French, and consider them as fighting *their* battles. The organization which you were made acquainted with amongst the Catholics in this neighborhood, continues to increase, and has spread as far as Meath, and will, probably, go much farther, which will certainly produce powerful means, if properly applied, but it will require great exertions to keep this organization from producing feuds among the different sects; for the Presbyterians in general, knowing nothing of their views and plans, look on them with great jealousy. These exertions shall not be wanting, and let us hope the best.

R. S.

BELFAST, 18*th Sept.*

Letter from my father to Arthur O'Connor, Esq. M. P. from America.

[N. B. This letter, in the pressure of subsequent business, was never sent; but, as it contains a clear and beautiful vindication of my father's conduct, I insert it here.]

PHILADELPHIA, OCT. 20, 1795.

SIR: Within these few days, I met, by chance, with an Irish newspaper, of some months standing, in which was inserted an account of a debate in the Common Council at Cork, on the subject of granting the freedom of that city to Mr. Edward Byrne.

wherein you took that part which your spirit and your principles demanded. As my name was introduced in the argument by your adversaries, to the discredit of the Catholic cause, and as you, in justifying that cause, were, I am satisfied, inadvertently led into an assertion that I had been dismissed by the Catholics, in consequence of my connection, or supposed connection, with the late Mr. Jackson, and my wish to introduce a foreign enemy into Ireland, I feel it a duty to myself to acquaint you, that I never was directly or indirectly dismissed by the Catholics; that my resignation was my own voluntary act, wherein I did not even consult or advise with those of that body with whom I was most in habits of confidence, and that, consequently, whoever was your informant on that matter, asserted what was not the fact.

I might rest here, but I have that respect for Mr. O'Connor, that admiration for his uncommon talents, and still more uncommon integrity, that I cannot resist the desire I feel to avail myself of the opportunity which chance has afforded me of detailing somewhat the grounds of my conduct; in the execution, or attempted execution, of which I found myself constrained to quit a country, to whose emancipation I may now say I was ready to devote my life. I do this with the more eagerness, because, judging from the speech which has immortalized you, I am satisfied we are agreed as to the grievances of Ireland, however we may differ as to the mode of redressing them.

My theory of Irish politics is comprised in these words: I trace all her miseries, so strongly described by you, to the blasting influence of England. How is that influence maintained? By perpetuating the spirit of internal dissension, grounded on religious distinctions. How, then, is it to be obviated? By a cordial union of all the people. So far, I think, no honest Irishman can differ from me. On these principles I have acted, and I will say, allowing for humble talents and limited situation, acted with success. I had the singular good fortune to be one of the very few men, through whose means the Catholics of Dublin and the Dissenters of Belfast, first came to understand each other; and to that union, *I know*, that what has been gained by the Catholics is owing. I know the members of your Parliament, (I rejoice you are no longer contaminated by the association,) even those who were the earliest and most decided friends to the

Catholic cause; and I know how little *genuine principle* weighed with any one of them. I have had an opportunity to observe their shuffling and their speculating, their pushing and their parrying; and, what is more, the Catholics understand them as well as I do. They set out to raise themselves on the shoulders of the Catholics; they have assisted, in a certain degree, to raise them, but they have failed in making them their instruments. They are speculating stockjobbers on the rights of the people; but I prophecy, they will have no cause to rejoice in the winding up of their accounts.

I presume, up to the arrival of the unfortunate man, whose fortitude in a voluntary death must command the respect of the most virulent persecutor, I am guiltless; though, two years before that period, I had the honor to be made the subject of a furious philippic in the House of Lords, by a man who had the meanness to possess himself of a copy of a private letter of mine, and the baseness to falsify and misquote it. The charge made against me, when stripped of the necessary legal and constitutional epithets, is, that I wished to introduce a French force into Ireland, to subvert the present Government, and establish a Republic in its place. To this charge I shall give, as to the fact, no answer. But, as to the principle, supposing it to be the case of an indifferent person, I think something at least may be said. Introducing a foreign enemy, is a sounding phrase, and very alarming to many; but I doubt whether the end may not justify even that measure, in certain cases of the last extremity. As I have the honor to address a gentleman of respectable situation, in a country yet subject to the laws of his Britannic Majesty, I shall beg leave to ask him, what he thinks of the Whig noblemen, and others, who brought a foreign army and a foreign prince into England, in 1688. If James II. had not been a fool and a coward, but had behaved like a man who was to contend for a crown, and if the Prince of Orange had been defeated, like Monmouth, as war is very uncertain, I should be very glad to know what figure in history Lord Somers, Lord Halifax, bishop Burnet, and all the venerable fathers of the Whig interest would have made? Lord Somers rose to the woolsack; had he been placed in the Dock, as might have happened, what epithets would his Majesty's Attorney General have applied to him? Or, to come nearer to our own day, what is to be said for his Ma-

jesty's (present) loyal subjects of Corsica? They felt, we must suppose, the yoke of France intolerable; they applied, we are told, for the protection of England; and, in consequence, they introduced a foreign force into their country, to assist them in vindicating that liberty, which they felt their own means inadequate to obtain. Here is the principle established in the strongest manner on the highest authority, and in a case where I defy the ingenuity of man to find a difference, except in the event:

> Multi eadem faciunt, diverso, crimina, fato;
> Ille crucem pretium sceleris tutit, hic diadema.

I do, for my part, think it possible to doubt the truth of what seems to be an axiom, that we are bound, in all circumstances, to stand or fall with England; and I think the time is rapidly approaching, wherein it will be no more safe to broach that doctrine, than it is now to hold the contrary. But the present state of Ireland is such, that any man wishing to argue for her just rights, is constrained to keep the strength of his case as much out of sight as possible, and to scout and skirmish about the outposts, instead of storming the enemy in the citadel; unless, indeed, he has a mind to discuss the point coolly in the King's Bench, with the law officers of the crown; an experiment which I apprehend, from recent experience of the event of such investigations, few men will be now inclined to make.

But, to return to the original object of my letter: So far from being dismissed by the Catholics, in consequence of Mr. Jackson's trial, I can assure you that applications were made to them, from a quarter that must naturally have had great weight with them, subsequent to his conviction, and previous to introducing their bill, to induce them to disgrace me; which applications I must, though it is in my own case, say, they did, with great unanimity and justice, refuse. The answer given was, that I was in their service, until the dissolution of their committee, in April 1793, when they ceased to act as a body; that I was again called to their service at Christmas, 1794, on Lord Fitzwilliam's arrival; that I had always acted faithfully towards them; and that, as to any part of my conduct, which happened during a period wherein we had no political connection, they did not feel it just, or necessary, by any act of theirs, either to sanction or condemn it: and in this reply they steadily persevered.

It is a circumstance which, its being in a degree a personal concern of my own, prevents my dwelling upon. Circumstanced as I then was, so convenient a scape-goat, and utterly incapacitated from defending myself, nothing but a sentiment of the most refined honor and strictest justice, could have induced that body to protect me, as I must call it, by their refusal to comply with a requisition, which, if my self-love does not influence my judgment, was base and dishonorable. What makes it more curious, is, that the party making the requisition had, a very few years before, thought me worth soliciting; and the cause of our breaking off was, my refusal to withdraw myself from Catholic politics, in which I was peremptory. Yet the very personage who I am satisfied instigated the application for my disgrace, and who is now a noisy advocate for the Catholics, after first seeking me out, and then breaking off all connection on the ground I have mentioned, insinuated to the Catholics, that I must have purchased immunity from the Government by betraying their secrets, seeing I was not prosecuted. Luckily for me, they knew both our characters; and, though he was likely to be a great man, and I was ruined, they scorned to desert me in extremity. I know not whether my gratitude and admiration of their conduct exceeds my contempt for the man who took so safe, and, as he thought, certain a mode of destroying one, whose only offence, as to him, was, rejecting his patronage, when it was to be purchased at the surrender of principle.

I am sure you will make allowance for the feelings of a man in my situation. With regard to the opinions of most of the gentry of Ireland, I hold them in the most perfect contempt, but with regard to you it is a very different case. I entertain a sincere admiration of your talents and your principles, and I am sure you will credit me in this assertion, when you reflect that you and I shall, in all human probability, never meet, nor do I see any possible contingency wherein you can be of the smallest service to me. It is because I look on you as a good Irishman that I give you this trouble. I was, in a part of my letter, going at large into the state of our common country, and I think I could justify myself on general principles; but considering the present state of things in Ireland, I thought it but right to stop. You are almost a stranger to me, and a political correspondence, or even the appearance of one, might not be

pleasant to you. I therefore stopt short, and limited myself to the fact, as to my dismission. As to my statement of it, any of the leading Catholics will satisfy you, if it be an object worth your inquiry; and I hope the contemplation of the honorable conduct of the Catholics to me, will make you amends for such parts as are merely personal to myself. I am fully as anxious for their honor, as for my own. To them I was ever, to the best of my ability, a faithful servant; and, as to the country at large, if I have been guilty of any offence, of which, I bless God, my own conscience gives me the fullest acquittal, I am here, making amends by a painful exile. I make no apology for this letter. You must know the value of a good man's approbation, and therefore can sufficiently estimate my motive in addressing you.

I remain, Sir, with great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

Note of the Editor.—These last enigmatical letters, but of which the solution is easy, are those which determined my father's departure for France.

From one of the leaders of the United Irish in Belfast, September 21st, 1795.

Reynolds has at length broke his long silence, and wrote to Neilson. He and . . . . . were with your friend *Smith*, who professed great willingness on the part of his employers, to assist us, provided they are able. After informing N. of this, R. recommends instant action, whenever our *crops* are secured, and brings forward all the heroes of antiquity to support his arguments. But are we not gaining ground, and our opponents rapidly losing? Why then make our country the seat of such *speculations* at present, when we are certain of having a more favorable opportunity some time hence? No doubt it would be a useful diversion to the *Smiths*. And I consider R's arguments only as a detail of what passed at the interview, and not his own reasoning. For my part, I am firmly persuaded that it would be neither our interest nor that of the world, to make the business very hazardous, or event doubtful. The bloodless manner in which the *Smith's hammer* was first introduced, fascinated

all parties; but it was only the firm friends to them, were able to withstand the repeated shocks which a different conduct afterwards produced. Believe me, Tone, I am for no unnecessary procrastination. I think the *hour* is rapidly approaching, and our business at present is *preparation*. Not the fixing a time, or saying, "when the *crops* are in, or the *corn* secured," or any other definite time; but, when we are prepared, let us embrace the first favorable moment that offers. A favorable speculation just now opens to our view: twenty-five thousand men of the best, are going to the West Indies. Their absence will, no doubt, make *provisions* plentier here, and a demand for shoes and boots in the West Indies. I had almost forgot to mention, that R. speaks of an address to us from the *Smiths*, and that we may expect it immediately. A wilder scheme was never thought of; it would be the certain means of overrunning us with *Bulls*, which would prevent every idea of exertion. Despotism in the extreme, misery of every kind, and the banishment or death of all our best friends, would be the result. But, however, as you will have seen *Smith* a few months after R. I am sure every idea of the kind will be dropt, until some other arguments are ready to accompany it. I shall now drop the hammer, &c. Neilson has been called away this morning by express, to settle some serious disputes in county Armagh, between the Peep-of-day-boys and Defenders. C. Teeling is there before him. I hope their efforts will be successful: that county has always been a plague to us.

From another.

I have been expecting very anxiously for some time past, to hear from you. Government on this side the water are a good deal alarmed at the spreading of Defenderism amongst the militia. R. is just returned from Dublin, where it is currently reported and generally believed, that five or six thousand of the militia have taken the Defenders' oath. It is certain that a great many have. A fife major of the Fermanagh regiment, has been sent to Newgate for having administered it to a number of privates in said regiment. The societies of United Irish are spreading fast throughout a large portion of Ulster. As you will no doubt

have to lay out a good deal of money, before you are *settled* as you could *wish*, if you have occasion, draw on me at sixty days sight, for one or two hundred pounds: your bill shall be duly honored, and you may repay me at your convenience. I beg you will not be backward in doing this, in case you find it at all necessary. Neilson received a letter last night from C. Teeling, from Portadown, where he is gone this day. There has been dreadful work there about the Defenders.

From one of the chief Catholic Leaders in Dublin, Sept. 3, 1795.

I am told there is a vessel bound for Philadelphia to sail this day, and determined to seize the opportunity to assure you that you live in the memory of those here whom I believe you considered worthy of your friendship. Is it to the hurry inseparable from the preparations for a long voyage, that I am to impute your not answering a letter (not a short one) which I directed to you at Mr. Neilson's? Possibly it met the fate of many letters of late, to and from me, which were not thought to be worth delivering. However this may have been, let me know how is your health, and that of Mrs. Tone and of your sister and children; whether you intend, like Cincinnatus and your greater Washington, to follow the plough, and, *like them, to quit it when your country calls.* Is young America engaged entirely in clearing her woods? I trust that she knows how to appreciate genius when it flies to her shores for protection. But you will prefer knowing how your friends here proceed. To these inquiries: Since your departure a variety of applications were made by our *great men*, to induce the people to have aggregate meetings to address the throne for Catholic emancipation; but these attempts are fruitless. The people suspect the patriotism of their former leaders, and they must, by *actions*, restore themselves to confidence, or leave the people to themselves. They will not go for *half measures;* their views are extended since your departure. Our unfortunate and misguided peasantry have become more outrageous; neither the gaol nor the gibbet deter them; they even meet death with firmness. The utmost exertions are used to suppress this spirit in the capital, where it is said that four thousand are already sworn; many are thrown into Newgate. I saw our friend P. Burrowes

about an hour since; he was just returned from Naas, where he was employed by the Crown in prosecuting Defenders. Two of them are condemned to death; one, whose name is O'Connor, after being found guilty, made a speech in defence of the people. Counsellor Burrowes considers these infatuated people as having enlisted men for *the French, in expectation of an invasion.* It was proved that O'Connor swore many to be true *to the French.* This now appears to be the oath taken *by all the Defenders.* Our Bishop, Dr. Troy, has excommunicated them, and they are not to be admitted to the sacraments at the hour of their death; but this has also proved ineffectual. Religion and loyalty have lost their influence with those men, who rely upon their numbers, which are *very great* indeed.

A book has been published here on the *best mode for the defence of Ireland.* The writer appears to be a scientific military man; the work is full of French idioms. He points out the *West,* as the most likely place for the enemy to *land;* stating that the S. W. winds would detain our fleets in the Channel, and permit a fleet from Brest to arrive here. He gives his opinion of the mode on which the enemy will proceed after landing, their route or march, dress for the armed peasantry, &c. and although he advises the method to oppose an invading enemy, yet this work appears extraordinary for a friend of Government at this time, when the country is agitated beyond all former example, and might be dangerous in the hands of the enemy. This author recommends *union,* otherwise he asserts *all resistance vain,* in case of an invasion. I just now hear that this work is suppressed by Government. I think they are right.

You have no doubt heard of our invasion of France, and of the check we received at Quiberon. But, at this moment, a large fleet is on the way thither with Count D'Artois on board.* Tis said when joined to Charette, they will amount to 75,000 men. We expect, on arrival of the packets, to hear of this landing. Louis XVIII. offers to pardon all his subjects, if they will throw themselves at the foot of his throne; but he forgot to say where they will find it, which, I suppose, must postpone this proof of their attachment to him. But, away with politics.

* *Note by the Editor.*—The most curious details of this expedition, are given in the memoirs of Count Vauban, an emigrant officer. But, I suppose, this work is not now to be procured.

Let us leave them to the great: for humble men, friendship is a fitter subject. *Remember* then, dear Tone, the many hours we spent in the *Garden*, in your favorite walk. That these *conversations* impress your mind as they do mine, I can never doubt. How often have we anticipated *your return* to your friends—to your country? Those ideas can never be relinquished. *I am sanguine in my expectations* to see you and your family live in the country you love, suitable to your genius and your patriotism. I am growing old; you know tis the vice of age to become too much attached to interest; do not wonder then, if I should wish ardently that you may arrange your affairs, so as to *return to us, and if not soon, it may be too late for me*, perhaps even for yourself. Cornelius desires me to assure you of his affectionate regard; whenever you return he expects to hear from you, and will instantly pay you his respects *in person*.

Our Government are making serious exertions to put down the Defenders. You, I am sure, join with me in earnest wishes that these unfortunate men may restrain from all violence, which must terminate in the destruction of many, without any possible benefit to themselves or to the country. For, if they are aggrieved in rents, or otherwise, they cannot obtain redress by *such means*, which unite every man of property against them. Besides, it will naturally terminate in many associating in gangs, as robbers and murderers.

Your old companions of the Sub-committee, are as you left them. I saw Mr. MacCormick this day, for some time. His wishes for your *return* fully *coincide* with *mine*, and he thinks that it will not be your fault, and that you will omit nothing, consistent with principles, for so fair and honorable an object. And I own that I have such an opinion, let me say experience, of you, that I think you cannot fail to succeed in any attempt in the line of your profession. I know not, as yet, to whom I shall commit this letter, but will now go and inquire. *Once more*, Tone, *remember*, and *execute* your *garden* conversation.

Copies of Votes of Thanks, &c. to T. W. TONE.

My Father was elected, on the tenth of June, 1792, an honorary member of the Belfast Volunteer Regiment, by the following act:

Belfast Regiment of National Volunteers.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE, Esq., was elected an honorary member of the Belfast Regiment of National Volunteers, June 10, 1792, in testimony of the high opinion that corps entertain of his eminent services in bringing about the union of Irishmen, and, thereby, ascertaining the independence, freedom, and happiness of Ireland; which we hereby certify,

THOMAS M'CABE,
HENRY HASLITT,
JAMES HYNDMAN,
Captains.

JOHN RADD, *Secretary.*

In the month of April, of the same year, he had received a vote of thanks from the Catholics of that city. (See Appendix.) He had before been appointed Secretary of the Sub-committee of the Catholics, and a member of the Northern Whig Club.

On the 10th of December, 1792, he received the thanks of the General Committee of the Catholics, on the close of their sittings. (See Appendix.)

On the 20th of April, 1793, he received their thanks a second time, in the most solemn manner, before their dissolution, in these terms:

At a General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held on Wednesday, the 20th day of April, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three, it was unanimously resolved, that the thanks of this committee be, and are hereby, presented to Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq., our agent, for his faithful discharge of the duties of that office, and for the zeal, spirit, and ability, which he manifested in the cause of the Catholics of Ireland; and, as a further mark of our esteem, that the sum of fifteen hundred pounds be presented to him, together with a gold medal, value thirty guineas, with a suitable inscription.

EDWARD BYRNE, *Chairman.*

RICHARD MACCORMICK, *Secretary.*

This vote of thanks was written on vellum, in a most beautiful hand, by Sisson Darling, his old schoolmaster, who had given him his first lessons. He wept all the time he was drawing it, and inserted, in a small and almost invisible character, in the rim, Sisson Portland Darling, scripsit, preceptor to Mr. Tone, Dublin, 1793.

Before his departure from Ireland, after he had resigned his commission of Agent and Secretary, and whilst the Whig leaders were pressing them to give him up, the leaders of the Catholics of Dublin, as the General Committee, was no longer sitting, gave him the following and parting vote of thanks :

At a meeting of the Catholics of the city of Dublin, on Thursday, the ninth day of April, 1795, John Sweetman, Esq., in the chair, it was resolved, unanimously, that the thanks of this meeting be respectfully presented to our Agent, Theobald Wolfe Tone, Esq., for the readiness with which he accompanied our Deputies to England, and the many other important services rendered the Catholic body—services which no gratitude can overrate, and no remuneration overpay.

Signed by order of the Catholics of Dublin,

JOHN SWEETMAN, *Chairman.*

RICHARD MACCORMICK, *Secretary.*

THE

Political Works

OF

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

EXTRACTS

FROM

A REVIEW

OF THE

CONDUCT OF ADMINISTRATION,

DURING THE

Seventh Session of Parliament:

ADDRESSED TO THE

Constitutional Electors and Free People of Ireland,

ON THE

APPROACHING DISSOLUTION.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE NORTHERN WHIG CLUB.

1790.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IT may be expected that we should make a two-fold apology to the judicious and spirited writer (whoever he is) of this review; first, for the liberty taken in republishing it; and, again, for doing it in a mutilated form: but we are persuaded he will readily excuse both, as he must see that we are actuated by the same zeal for the public service which animates himself. The reason for omitting several pages was, lest the public eye should be diverted from our immediate, most important concerns, to objects at present less interesting. The people are now called on to fulfil their duty, by straining every nerve to create an honest House of Commons; if they are alive to a sense of their duty, if they regard their country or themselves, they will spiritedly support their late worthy Representatives, and reject those with indignation who have proved the reverse; electing such in their room as have the best claim to public confidence. It is a solemn occasion; every thing is at stake. In the next place, they are called on to declare their opinion of public measures; if the minority, through the course of the last Session of Parliament, have strenuously supported their rights and interests, the people are bound, by every tie, to express a warm approbation of their measures, and a firm determination to give such every constitutional support; reprobating that corrupt system which, unaided by ability, rendered the virtues and splendid exertions of opposition ineffectual.

BELFAST, *April* 16. 1790.

TO THE

CONSTITUTIONAL ELECTORS

AND

FREE PEOPLE OF IRELAND:

I SUBMIT to your consideration the following strictures on the late measures of your Government: With you it remains to decide on the truth or falsity of what I have advanced. If I have deceived you, it is not a wilful deception, for, in that case, I am myself deceived; if I have, on the contrary, felt your situation truly, and expressed it fairly, make the proper use of the information collected in this little book, and my end is fully answered.

One word more—It is with some little pride I find the mode proposed in the following pages, has been anticipated by the inhabitants of Belfast; a city renowned, over the kingdom and over England, for its thorough knowledge of, and ardent attachment to, constitutional liberty. I am a young man, but I remember the era when, from that very city, as from a fountain-head, the torrent of public spirit gushed forth, overspread the land, and swept the ancient bulwarks of English tyranny before it.

I accept the omen. You have no foreign enemies to encounter; look then at home. Now is your time for reformation; if it elapse unprofitably, which of us can promise himself that he will survive till the next era? It is a serious consideration, and use it properly.

A REVIEW, &c.

A GENERAL ELECTION is, at all times, a subject of serious consideration; but, perhaps, there never was a General Election so important in its consequences as the impending one is likely to prove. The nation has for the first time seen, with the surprise and diffidence incident to the dawn of a new measure, but gradually vanishing as it rose to the meridian, a regular and systematic opposition on public principle, strengthened by private honor: an union of men, heretofore of different attachments, pledging themselves, by every tie as gentlemen, to the carrying of certain measures with effect, and steadfastly, though unsuccessfully, prosecuting that system; the nation has seen that opposition rising in numbers and in weight, by an even and steady progress, from a division of eighty-two, to eighty-eight, to ninety-six, to ninety-eight! They have heard certain measures loudly condemned, and they have not heard them defended; they have heard impudent prodigality arraigned, and justified,—justified by the *practice* of Administration; they have heard corruption alleged as a charge on one side, and avowed on the other; they have heard of a sale of honors, tainting, at once, the highest legislative and judicial authority; and they have found the inquiry, not dared, but smothered; they have heard the leader of opposition come forward and offer to substantiate an impeachable offence, and they have heard him answered by a vociferous appeal to the "*Question.*"

These are plain facts. And what follows? No Government can pretend to exist in this Kingdom, clogged and cramped by such an incumbent opposition, *unless it appear that the opposition and the people are of different sentiments;* if that be the case, Administration may laugh their adversaries to scorn; if it be

otherwise, they must seek for means *out* of Parliament to enforce their measures. The day of omnipotence, of mere ministerial majorities, is gone by; they are, in this land, but the flash, without the bolt. The national wisdom, the national spirit, will require some reason beyond numbers, and if none be given, the bayonet may prove an useful supplement to the *mace*. Whether the present opposition to Government be supported by the feeling and sentiment of the nation, and, if so, whether it be a well founded attachment, or merely a momentary effusion of popular levity, I purpose to inquire. It is my right as a free subject, and *this*, I conceive, to be the period for investigation. The trust committed to the House of Commons, is about to be returned to the hands that bestowed it, and much, indeed, will depend on the complexion of the future Parliament.

At the opening of the session the first grand singularity which struck every man, was the helpless and deserted appearance which Administration presented at a time when, if ever, powerful ability was indispensable to their very existence. The Marquis of Buckingham, at his departure, had accumulated a load of odium for his successor, which it required either very great integrity to remove, or very splendid ingenuity to repel. The people naturally looked to the new Administration, either for a change of measures, or some very powerful accession of senatorial ability, indeed, to support and defend the past. It was, therefore, not without some surprise, nor, indeed, some indignation, that the old system was beheld, followed up with a whetted keenness of profligacy, and undefended by even the shadow of argument, in utter contempt of character, of dignity, of decency. The people gazed with astonishment on the Secretary and his supporters, nor could they avoid reflecting on what the priests must be when the God was *a monkey!*

It has been an old prejudice, which the experience of our own senses can subvert, that, to the existence of any Government, *some* integrity, *some* ability, and a great deal of popular opinion was necessary. We have lived to see an Administration commence and proceed in an uninterrupted career of the most wanton extravagance, the most impudent prostitution, and the most gross and *avowed* corruption; I do not say without honesty, that is not wonderful, but without even an attempt to

varnish over the rottenness of their proceedings, and in complete defiance of public censure, or public infamy. Until this session, it was thought a due, or, at least, a decent compliment to the understanding of the people, to color the most profligate acts, of the most profligate administration, with some pretext, however slight; but, now, even that is unnecessary. Our minds, I suppose, are degraded to our condition, and administration, in the careless confidence of success, are above descending to explain or defend measures, which it is the duty of Irishmen to receive, not with investigation, but humble submission.

And will the people of Ireland be thus governed? Let the Minister look well to it. There is no more fatal degree of delusion in politics, than to mistake a state of *lethargy*, in a Kingdom, for a state of *rest*. The fermentation will begin; the people will not be always defied. They are slow to anger, but they are not that blatant beast that will bear any burden, provided their long ears be scratched, and they are indulged in liberty of braying. They will see *who* they are that rule them with a rod of iron; they will see *what* are their measures, *how* they are carried, and *how* they are defended; they will probe the ulcer that corrodes our constitution to the bottom; they will look among themselves for the remedy.

When once a Government becomes contemptible to the public eye, its strongest pillar is shaken—*Res nolunt diu male administrari*. This nation will not endure such a Government; they will not bear to see their liberty and property and independence at the mercy of an idle, ambling, petit maitre, though accident should make him a secretary, nor will they be argued out of their reason by the foaming and frothy tautology of one great law-officer, nor bullied out of their spirit by the proud and intemperate pomposity of another. Slavery in any shape is dreadful, but slavery to such men is adding insult to misery, it is "*taking away all dignity from "distress, and making calamity ridiculous.*"

Under the guidance of these inauspicious leaders, Administration opened the political campaign. The measures expected from the side of opposition were of the highest national importance and utility; so comprehensive in their end; so obviously practicable in their means; so reasonable and so necessary, that resistance on the part of Government, however supported by ability

or numbers, was looked on as almost impossible. The nation did not expect a denial of axiomatic truths, and could scarcely think that any Minister would be hardy enough to force down measures which he found it impracticable, even in appearance, to defend; but the people, measuring their own danger by the apparent utter incapacity of their adversaries, have, at a heavy loss, shewed the futility of such idle confidence. They have learnt that to be mischievous requires no great elevation of sentiment, or expansion of mind; they are taught that, as refinement of the heart and understanding generally go together, so the dullest booby ever bids fairest for being the most corrupt; they have felt, by sore experience, how little genius or wisdom is necessary to the demolition of a constitution, the formation of which betrays, I had almost said, a divine interposition.

The grievances of the nation affected her property or her constitution; many of them both; where her property was voted away for the purpose of buying up her constitution. Opposition were pledged to bring forward certain remedies for those grievances; a place-bill, a pension bill, a responsibility bill, a modification of the police, an inquiry into the doctrine of special bail in actions of slander. These they have tried in every shape, and in every shape have failed. What ability, perseverance, and integrity could do within doors, has been done; and, whatever may be the event, opposition are acquitted to the people of Ireland.

The grievances complained of were of no light nature. A wanton profligacy in the expenditure of the public money is a serious evil. Had it been only wasted in experiments of visionary improvement, however the nation might have murmured, Administration would have a colorable excuse to plead. But what shall be said when it is known by the public assertion of the first men in the House of Commons, *and stands undenied by the Minister of Ireland*, nay, avowed by an intemperate partizan, that this money has been expended on *the corruption of the representation of the people!*—— Here is loss upon loss; the nation is loaded with a debt under which she staggers, to raise the purchase money of her own slavery. Her property is gone, not to secure, but to demolish her honor, and her freeborn sons forced to labor in the mine for the very metal that is forged into manacles for their hands, and shackles for their feet!

This disgraceful grievance was made one principal ground of complaint by opposition, but they did not complain without pointing out the remedy. They introduced a Pension Bill and a Place Bill; a pension bill which, far from clogging the fair liberality of Government, left the Minister in possession of £80,000 annually, and an unlimited credit for any grants to the royal family; surely a sum sufficient for his benevolence and his loyalty.

In support of this measure, it was stated that our pension list stood now at the enormous sum of £108,280 annually, *a sum considerably larger than the pensions of England amount to;* that of this there had been added, since 1784, no less than £16,000, which, with £14,000, which had in the same time fallen in, and been re-granted, amounted to £30,000 per annum, a sum sufficient, at 4½ per cent. to pay the interest of £750,000, if any emergency should render it necessary to borrow that sum; that this was a wanton anticipation of the resources of the country, and a grievous and unnecessary expense, aggravated to the highest degree by the purpose to which the money was applied—the poisoning the very source of public virtue and national integrity; that, in five years, pensions had been granted to no less than *eleven members of Parliament, to the wives of several more, and to four or five Peers of the Realm;* that these were given for the purpose of corruption was evident from this plain circumstance, that one or two members of the legislature had, very lately, their pensions withdrawn, for no other reason than differing from the Minister on a great national question. Opposition did, therefore, introduce the bill, on the grounds of economy and constitution, with confidence, as a measure of retrenchment, and more confidence, as a measure of indispensable reformation.

But a division in support of Government of one hundred and twenty-six to ninety-eight, shewed the nation how little force the most irrefragable arguments drawn from public principle have, when opposed to private interest. It was not very easy to answer opposition, yet something must be said. It was, therefore, roundly asserted, admitting and justifying the charge of corruption, that it was necessary to have a *strong Government in Ireland.* What is a *strong* Government? Is it something distinct and differing from a *virtuous* Government, or a *wise* Go-

vernment? Does it, can it mean a Government of *force*, that, conscious of the steady support of a venal majority, holds the public opinion at defiance?

The only true strength of Government is the confidence of the people, a confidence not lightly bestowed, nor lightly withdrawn. When that confidence is betrayed, and not only so, but when the people are laughed to scorn by their betrayers, Administration may be taught how vain the reliance is on their fancied *strength*. It is not wise to compel the people to look too closely into the theory of Government, and try facts by principles. What is the end for which every man renounces his natural right to legislate for himself, and vests it in another? surely for his own good, and that only. If the deputy perseveres in measures pernicious to his constituents, and laughs at their indignation, or bullies them with his *strength*, his constituents will shew him *their power* in return. Government is not *physically* strong, but rests in opinion. If that opinion be forfeited by misconduct, or rejected with scorn as an useless instrument, the people may begin to examine by what authority three hundred men pretend to govern and to defy four millions; and they will find that authority resulting from their own delegation, and the petulant abuse of that authority from their supine inattention; and they will shew their servants, that the power which elevated can abase. When Government make an ostentatious exhibition of their strength, it is time for the people to examine their own resources, and a thorough conviction of their relative powers is the best security for the peace of the land.

The Pension Bill being lost, opposition proceeded to another measure of a similar tendency, having for its object the diminution of the unconstitutional influence of the Minister, and the renovation of the purity of the House of Commons. I mean the Place Bill.

It was stated, in support of the bill, that members of Parliament were, like other men, liable to be governed by their interests; that the constant series of majorities, uniformly supporting the fountain of influence, was a sufficient proof of the existence of the evil; that, in the last twenty years, forty new parliamentary places had arisen, of which NO LESS THAN FOURTEEN HAD BEEN CREATED WITHIN THE LAST SIX MONTHS! That the expense, immense as it was, was but a secondary

grievance; the primary one was the unconstitutional influence thus thrown into the hands of the Minister; an influence so strong, that, out of his last majority, consisting of an hundred and forty-four, ONE HUNDRED AND FOUR WERE PLACEMEN AND PENSIONERS, a number, of itself, almost an unfailing majority. The example of England was quoted and relied on, where such a bill has been in force these forty years; where, if any where, constitutional liberty is studied and known, where the influence of the Crown is, comparatively, much weaker than with us, and where there is, out of doors, a jealous vigilance, a fund of knowledge, and a spirit of resistance not yet to be found in Ireland.

Such were the facts alleged in support of the bill; and what was the reply? It was, in effect, this: Government must be supported, and their supporters must be paid; places must, therefore, be created; if they cannot be given openly, they will secretly, by which *responsibility will be lost;* besides, placemen are not always so very bad, for, on great occasions, they have supported the real interests of their country—as Falstaff paid his debts—three or four times. As to the fourteen places created since the last session, they were indispensable, and, indeed, are a bright criterion of the rising prosperity and increasing trade of the kingdom.

In this, *the fact of corrupt influence is fairly admitted, and justified,* so that it seems we have but the choice of open or concealed corruption. This extreme flippancy of candor on the part of Government, is an event hitherto unknown, unheard of in parliamentary history. It is a symptom either of gross ignorance, or extreme effrontery, in those who have held such unconstitutional language, and will be a glaring proof of a lethargic supineness on the part of the people if it pass without due comment. What! are we become stocks or stones, that the hot constitution of corruption should thus throw off the last thin veil of decency, and walk, unblushing and unabashed, before the land? Or, was it but the ebullient intoxication of a young cabinet, flushed with success beyond their hope, and reeling from the giddy elevation of power, as far above their strength to maintain, as their merits to deserve? Admitting the necessity of an increased number of places, still the great grievance remains. The people do not murmur only at a wanton invention of useless and expensive offices, *but at the bestowing those offices on*

members of Parliament; not merely at a waste of the public money, but wasting it for the purposes of public corruption; they complain that they are robbed, and that a part of the spoil goes to purchase the accomplices, and those accomplices *their own servants!*

But why argue the point? The determination of the House of Commons stands for a thousand arguments: *they rejected the bill.* On a division, there appeared on the side of Administration one hundred and forty-eight; on that of Opposition, ninety and six. It is admitted, that, had the bill passed, *one hundred and four* of the majority would have been disqualified, so that, in fact, the number representing themselves, not their places and pensions, was but *forty-four*, and the real unbiassed majority should have been FIFTY-TWO.

In England it is an established principle, that the King can do no wrong. It is a due and a decent presumption in favor of the first magistrate of the kingdom; but the same principle does, by no means, extend to his Ministers, many of whom have been brought to account, and not a few of those to suffer for their mal-administration. In the particular department of the Treasury, all warrants for the issuing of money are signed by three or more of the Lords, who then become responsible for the expenditure to the Parliament and the nation, and, in addition to this wholesome caution, *every shilling of the public money in England is appropriated to its particular purpose,* so that one fund never can be diminished to make good the deficiency of another, nor the people be at once cheated of their money and baffled in their inquiry after it.

I do not know whether it be yet law in Ireland, that the Lord Lieutenant can do no wrong; but if he has not the impeccability, he has what is nearly as good—he has all the impunity of the regal character; nay, more, he can do what the King, in the plenitude of his power, cannot; he can screen the instruments of his tyranny and profusion from the vengeance of the nation. See how the Treasury of Ireland stands, contrasted with the Treasury of England. Here, *the revenues are unappropriated,* so that the Crown has a *general* power over the public money; and how is that power exerted in a country professing to be *independent of England?* For the payment of any pension, salary, or specific sum, a King's letter is obtained, counter-

signed—*by whom?* THREE LORDS OF THE TREASURY IN ENGLAND! In pursuance of this letter a warrant is granted here, signed by the Lord Lieutenant, and countersigned by the Secretary, on which, without further process, the money is paid. *Not one Irishman concerned in the transaction, unless, perhaps, the Clerk who reckons out the guineas;* and what is the consequence? The people may complain, but how can they punish? The Lord Lieutenant is gone, the Secretary is gone, their persons are beyond reach, their property cannot be attached, and they are rarely solicitous about their posthumous fame in Ireland. The vengeance of the nation is exhausted in impotent threats; they turn to their countrymen, the resident ministers; they call on the Chancellor of their Exchequer to account for the defalcation. He tells them, probably with great truth, that he is but a cypher, the stalking-horse of the Secretary; that he is at the head of the Treasury, it is true, but he neither pays, receives, nor signs a warrant; he, therefore, refers them back to the Secretary for information, or boldly tells them, "It is his Majesty's pleasure." Such is the responsibility of the first Minister of Finance in Ireland, and such are the benefits resulting from an office, *to bring home* which the nation is saddled with a heavy pension to an English absentee.

To procure a responsibility in this country, similar to the reasonable and constitutional one in England, was attempted by Opposition, and opposed by Government; by that very Government that, not three days before, on the Place Bill, had the modesty to state, as an objection to the principle of the bill, that *it went to destroy responsibility.* And a Chancellor of the Exchequer, an amiable, a respectable, and a worthy character, with a sound understanding, and a heart *too feeling for his situation,* was compelled to rise up to palliate what could not be defended; to explain away what could not be denied, and, with his own hands, to pluck away the brightest feathers from the wing of his office to imp out the gaudy plumes of a fluttering English jay, that Providence, for our sins, has thought proper to visit us with, as a Minister ———. Out of respect, as I believe, to the feelings of an honest man, thus forced to become the herald of his own degrading inefficiency, Opposition did not run this question to a division.

The famous Police of this city was an object of universal contempt and dislike. It was originally framed, under Mr. Pitt's auspices, for London; but, on a review, it was found to be such a measure as, if attempted there, would shake the King on his throne. However, that so much good mischief might not be lost, it was sent over here, with the framer of it, one Reeves, an English Barrister. It was forced down the throats of the citizens, notwithstanding every effort of resistance on their side, and Government fondly hoped it would give them such a weight in the Corporation as would sink the Metropolis of Ireland into a ministerial borough. But see the end of this rotten policy. The head of the institution has been turned out of his seat by the very means which were intended to plant him there for life, and the popular indignation has been so roused that Government probably never suffered so disgraceful a defeat as they will, to a moral certainty, on the next election, if their present candidates are such dupes as to stand a poll. But, though the great purpose of influence be thus lost, Government, out of a resentful determination to harass what they cannot subdue, have, in defiance of popular odium, and the strenuous efforts of Opposition, not only continued in the city of Dublin, but seemed determined to extend all over the kingdom, this mongrel rabble of ruffians, neither citizens nor soldiers, but compounded of the worst qualities, of both drunken and disorderly, an impotent and chargeable defence, filled with military insolence, and destitute of military discipline.

Thus far the measures of Administration went but to undermine the Constitution, and to sap the virtue of the people, without any apparent breach of the law; but the business of which I am now to speak, goes at once, not merely to a breach of the law, but to such an invasion of the essential principles of the Constitution as amounts almost to a dissolution of the Government. I mean *the sale of Peerages, and applying the produce to purchasing seats in the House of Commons.*

For this abominable measure, so novel in its nature, so ruinous in its consequences, a measure which makes one corrupted House the pander for the virtue of the other, and so contaminates both, the Ministers of Ireland were arraigned and *impeached* by Opposition with a force, fire, and irresistible energy, only to be conceived when conveyed in their own words. "I

will lay before the House," said that great and daring spirit, who leads on his associates, if not to victory, yet to immortal honor, "I will lay before you," said Mr. Grattan, "the project of Administration, considering it first as an instrument of domestic Government, and secondly, as a bond of connection."

"As an instrument of Government, it is very powerful indeed; for it will make the Minister not only strong, but completely absolute. He will first buy the question, and afterward favor you with the forms of debating it. He will cry up Parliament when it is venal, and cry Parliament down when it feels the sting of remorse. He will be soon, however, raised above the necessity of those artifices; for the ascendency he will obtain will not only secure a majority in all ordinary cases, but deprive the people of the chance of a majority on any; and will procure a Legislature ready to allow any expense, and overlook any crime, and adopt any measure, according as the Divan of the Castle shall give to its Janissaries here the word of command. Thus will this country lose, not indeed the existence of Parliament, but whatever benefit can be derived from it. The consequence of this must be that the Court will be free from control; and, free from control, its first idea will be plunder. Don't imagine that opposition alone makes Government extravagant. Some past Administrations in this country prove, that the most licentious thing imaginable is a little Castle presuming on the languor of the people; too low to think itself responsible to character, and too shifting to be responsible to justice. Remove from such a Court the dread of Parliament, and they will become a political High Life Below Stairs; carrying not only the fashions, but the vices and the insolence of their superiors to outrageous excess. From the infamy of the Court, the discredit of the executive power follows naturally and rapidly. When I say discredit, I don't mean merely unpopularity. I see some who would make a merit of being publicly obnoxious, and would canvass for the favor of the British Minister, by exhibiting the wounds of their reputation. No. I mean the loss of the esteem of all moderate and rational individuals. Already such men are disgusted; they are shocked at your pension-list; they are alarmed at your place-list; they can't approve of what they know your only principle of Government—the omnipotence of corruption.

"Do you imagine that the laws of this country can retain due authority, under a system such as yours, which would make Parliament the prostitute, and has made Government the common bawd of the nation? A system which not only poisons the source of the laws, but pollutes the seats of judgment; you may say that justice between man and man will be faithfully administered, and you will set up the private dispensation of the laws, as an apology for their political perversion; but, even that private dispensation will not be long pure, when you sell the power of that dispensation to every man who will give you money. Nor can the laws in a free country long retain their authority, unless the people are protected by them against plunder and oppression; nor can that long be the case, unless the body who is to make, and the body who is to decide on the laws, be themselves protected against corruption. The present Administration, therefore, is an enemy to the law; first, because it has broken the law; secondly, because it has attempted to poison the true sources both of legislation and of justice; and, however the friends of that Administration may talk plausibly on the subject of public tranquillity, they are, in fact, the *ringleaders of sedition placed in authority*. Rank majorities may give a nation law, but rank majorities cannot give law authority.

"But there is another circumstance attending the project, which should naturally have weight with Ministers. I mean the difficulty of carrying this pernicious project into full exertion. Don't gentlemen imagine that the country will at last *find them out?*—will discover that the multiplication of placemen, increase of pensions, sale, or rather, indeed, brokerage of honors, is a conspiracy against her, not against the aristocracy—but IRELAND?

"If the nature of the measures did not import their own criminality and mischief, yet the conversation of the projectors has been full and explanatory on the subject: 'Any money for a majority; give us the Treasury, and we buy the Parliament.' But conversations of this sort have even entered these walls. 'These new charges are POLITICAL EXPEDIENTS—IRELAND WAS SOLD FOR £1,500,000 FORMERLY, AND, IF OPPOSITION PERSISTS, WILL BE SOLD AGAIN.'

"Sir, the servants of Government have forgotten to talk plausibly to the people of Ireland, on the subject of corruption; and

have given the licentiousness of their conversation against the chance of their character. But, suppose this country and Parliament, however warned, willing to submit to the injuries, will they submit to insults? What are your measures but national indignities? what are these old hacks, now confidential Ministers, and the pert people they put forward in debate, but national indignities? But, supposing the country and her Parliament willing to submit to injuries, and willing to submit to indignities, yet will they submit to the new taxes, which those injuries and indignities will make necessary? The waste and corruption of your Ministers have exceeded your revenues; an excess much condemned and much increased by the Marquis of Buckingham. Will this country be ready to supply both an extravagance which that Minister condemned, and a corruption which that Minister has created? Supposing the country willing to give up her liberty, and willing to give away her money, yet will she surrender her money, merely for the purpose of enabling such a set of Ministers to take away her liberty?"

To this bold and animated charge, Administration opposed the impassive shield of profligate dulness. The practice arraigned was not denied. The whole credit of Opposition was staked on the charge. The Secretary made a most curious and original defence; if so it might be called that defence was none; by an appeal to gentlemen on the other side, whether, *when they had been in office, such things had not been done?*—Admitting the crime, admitting the consequence, and only contending on the score of novelty, he dared to complain of the harsh language of Opposition in speaking of the black transaction. "We do not come here, replied one of his adversaries, to exchange compliments in alternate melody, like two shepherds under an oak; we come to make inquisition of public guilt, and to call down public vengeance on the head of the offender." But justice and eloquence and argument and wit, are alike inefficient, where numbers are to decide, and influence prevails. The question of impeachment was lost, as every former question had been lost, and the Minister retired in safety under a majority of one hundred and forty-four to eighty-eight.

Hitherto the contest had been in great constitutional measures only, when the ill success of their defenders could but remotely

affect the people at large. Political liberty was invaded, but civil liberty was supposed above the possibility of danger. The nation was now to be taught how very intimately they are allied, and with what a decided front they should oppose the smallest innovation on either.

The business I allude to, is the famous *Doctrine of Fiats*, which had for some months back a good deal engaged the public attention. It was brought forward by one of the first men in Opposition; and his statement of the facts, which follows, was not contradicted by a single member of Administration.

A printer, from the complexion of his paper, obnoxious to Government, had published certain libels on some obscure characters, and on one which was known only for its peculiar infamy. The parties aggrieved applied to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, for his permission to mark writs, vulgarly called his *Fiat*, to hold the printer to special bail in a very enormous sum. To hold a man to special bail in an action of scandal, where no special damage is laid, as a medium to ascertain the quantum of the bail, is, by the law of England, only allowable in two cases, in actions of *scandalum magnatum*, and of slander of title; in all other actions, special bail is only requirable, when the damages can be specifically sworn to, and are of real value; that is, do not remain to be ascertained by a Jury. The affidavits on which the Chief Justice thought proper to issue his fiats were defective in both points. The action was but a common action of slander, and the damages were uncertain. They were defective further. In not one of them was there to be found what the law calls a *per quod*, that is, there was no *actual injury* set forth, by which, *per quod*, the plaintiff had sustained the loss he swore to, a circumstance essential to all applications to hold to special bail. The affidavit of one man states, that he had experienced the *evil tendency* of the reports spread; that, being a manager of a playhouse, an eminent performer in England had, in consequence of these reports, *expressed some doubt of his punctuality*, and that, but for the interference of a friend, who vouched for his honesty, he *might*, perhaps, have been deprived of her assistance; that, moreover, he had four daughters growing up, who, *at some future day*, might be injured in their prospects, by which he *hath now, in the present tense*, suffered damages; and to what amount?

FOUR THOUSAND POUNDS!—and he got a fiat for *four thousand pounds.*

The other affidavits were equally vague and indefinite. A man swears, that he was represented as keeping a house of reception, *by which* certain friends and neighbors *had called to know why these slanders were circulated;* and this injury and special damage of such impertinent visitors, he estimated at eight hundred pounds. A lady who "*swore she was a modest woman, and indeed looked like a modest woman,*" states in her affidavit, that she, being a spinster, has been represented as rather too intimate with a certain notorious character, by which she *has reason to believe* she is injured to the amount of one thousand pounds. Another person swears, that, by being called Francisco, and Shamado, and other ludicrous names, he is injured, God knows how, in his good name and fame, to the amount of two thousand pounds. And, on these vague allegations of uncertain and contingent injuries, measured only by the irritated malice of a revengeful prosecutor, the Chief Justice of Ireland thought proper to issue his fiats to the amount of seven thousand eight hundred pounds, in common actions of slander, with no special damage sworn to, when the Chief Justice of England would not have held the defendant in bail to the amount of ONE PENNY.

On these writs the Printer was arrested and thrown into gaol. Shortly after, he applied to the Court by his counsel, either to dismiss him on common bail, or, in other words, no bail at all, or to reduce the quantum to five hundred pounds. To the first point his counsel showed, from the great principles of law, *and from the uniform practice of the English courts,* that there never was a case wherein a man had been held to special bail, *in an action of slander,* with no special damages sworn to, except in cases of *scandalum magnatum,* or slander of title, and quoted authorities of the highest legal rank in support of their argument. If, however, the Court should overrule that point, they showed, from the insufficiency of the affidavits, from the slight and uncertain nature of the injuries, and the low rank in life of all the parties, that the present bail was enormous, and should be reduced. After a considerable interval, in a full Court, the Lord Chief Justice pronounced his own and his brethren's opinion. He read out *a part* of a passage in Blackstone, to form

a principle.* He past by in silence *the uniform practice of the English Judges*, and justified his practice by a long list of Irish precedents, which certainly go so far as to acquit him of innovation. Having established, in this manner, his principle that "the practice of the Court is the law of the Court," and by consequence the law of the land; his Lordship came to the second point; and, as to the quantum of damages he read *a part* of an affidavit of the defendant, setting forth, that, by libellous publications of one of his adversaries, he was "so reduced in his credit as not to be able to find bail to the amount of more than £500." He then quoted a former assertion of the defendant's made in a newspaper, "that he could find bail to the amount of half a million," and he argued from this, that if the defendant was by slander reduced from half a million to five hundred pounds, it was the strongest proof of the mischief of slander, and gave him the less claim on the mercy of the Court. His Lordship, therefore, with the concurrence of his three learned brethren, refused both parts of the motion with costs, and the printer now lies in Newgate, has done so since last Hillary term, and must do so until he can find bail to the amount of £7,800, or compel his adversaries to try their actions.

In the first part of his argument, the Lord Chief Justice has partially quoted Blackstone; in the last, he fell into the same inaccuracy. The defendant swore that "*in consequence of frequent and vexatious arrests, by fiats and otherwise,* AND *by libellous publications,* he was so injured in his credit as to be unable to find bail for more than £500."

* The words in Blackstone are, (vol. iii. page 292, title Process,) "In actions where the damages are precarious, being to be assessed, *ad libitum*, by a jury, AS IN ACTIONS FOR WORDS, ejectment or trespass, it is very seldom possible for a plaintiff to swear to the amount of his cause of action; and, therefore, *no special bail* is taken thereon, *unless by a Judge's order*, or the particular directions of the Court." Here his Lordship, with great self-congratulation, made *a full stop*. It would not be very decent to finish a paragraph for him in Court, but, in this form, it may, with humble deference, be suggested, that, in the original, it is but *a comma*, and these words follow immediately and conclude the sentence: "In some peculiar injuries, *as in cases of mayhem or atrocious battery.*" Which sufficiently determine, wherein the Judge has this discretionary power. And the reason is manifest, for in those cases the injury is *obvious to the senses*, and the judge may, in a degree, ascertain the damage; which is of the essence of special bail. Yet, in England, even in very atrocious cases of battery and wounding, *special bail has been denied by the Court.*

As to the boast of the printer that he could find bail for half a million, all Ireland knows, and his Lordship as well as any man in it, that, at the time of that silly gasconade, and long after, the unhappy victim was under a temporary frenzy; and so all Ireland must see the weakness of so much of his Lordship's argument as depends on that assumption.

I have submitted to the people, with as much perspicuity and brevity as I could, first, the doctrine of special bail, as laid down in the books; and, secondly, the actual practice of the King's Bench in Ireland. Opposition on this great question called forth all their energy, and never, through the session, were they opposed with such a pitiful show of resistance. One great law officer stated, that he was free to confess, he agreed with the honorable mover in all the facts, and almost all the principles laid down in his argument; nevertheless, there were one or two points *on which he had his doubts;* and therefore he, in effect, moved that the consideration of the question be put off *sine die*, or in other words, as was well observed, by a shrewd and spirited country Gentleman, he doubted, and, therefore, would not inquire. Another great law officer thought it indecorous to set up the opinion of the House of Commons against the unanimous determination of the Judges of the King's Bench, that is, in plain English, he set up the very grievance itself, as a bar to a complaint of that grievance. To what purpose is it a standing measure of every session, to appoint a Grand Committee of Courts of Justice, if, when an accusation is laid before that committee, the very fact imputed is pleaded in justification of itself? But it would be useless to show in detail the absurdity of the, arguments I cannot call them, on the part of the administration. Even the most determined of the supporters of Government, who had swallowed, without scruple, the most unpalatable measures of the session, rejected this with disgust; and it was not, unless by a pitiful evasion, fitted to impose only on voluntary dupes, that the Secretary could preserve his phalanx unbroken. They refused to support the Judges, if an inquiry was once admitted, but they consented in the first instance to stifle that inquiry, under a majority of one hundred and twenty-five to ninety-one.

It may be wondered why Administration should thus, wantonly, incur a great load of obloquy, without any apparent

temptation. It is this very circumstance that is the most alarming in the whole transaction. We may suppose a case. Suppose a man become obnoxious to a profligate Government, by a strong opposition to their measures; suppose the people not quite so ripe for slavery as to bear his being publicly seized at the arbitrary will of the Minister; suppose such a judge presiding in the King's Bench as Scroggs, or Tresillian in another country, or Whitshed in our own—no such judge now lives, but such may arise: and would such a Government find any difficulty in procuring a villain to swear an affidavit against their enemy, stating damages to any amount? Or would such a judge, whose discretion, as to the quantum of bail, is said to be regulated solely by the affidavit of the plaintiff, scruple to *grant his fiat?* And see what follows: The leader of an opposition might be thrown into a gaol; there he must lie for three terms before he could enter a *non pros.*: he is then discharged, and told he may pursue the plaintiff for holding him to excessive bail—*the plaintiff is fled!* No man will pretend that, as the law is now said to stand, this might not be done. This is the *misera servitus, ubi jus est vagum et incognitum.* CONSIDER IT WELL.

I do, by no means, suppose that, while the Bench is filled as it is at present, the liberty of the subject can be in danger from the enmity of Government, but our present judges are not immortal: *and if, at any remote and future period, it should happen that their successors were to be elected, not for integrity, but suppleness of conscience; not for legal knowledge in the courts, but for slavish effrontery in Parliament; if those judges were to carry with them to the bench their passions, their prejudices, their habits, their aversion to public spirit, their abased servility to men in power; if there were an ignorant and impudent man at the head of affairs, who would sacrifice the forms and the essence of the Constitution, at the corrupt shrine of ministerial influence; if any good citizen was to plant himself on the sacred ground of the liberty of the press, and sound the alarm to the remotest corners of the land; if the people were to arouse from their lethargy, and cry aloud for liberty and justice; it might then appear, what an useful instrument a Chief Justice of Ireland, without principle, and without shame, armed with all the terrors of attachments, informations, fiats, and every other powerful engine of his Office, might prove in the hands of such an Adminis-*

tration. This is no speculative evil.—All that I have said, and much more, has been done in England, by a Jefferies; and he is a fool who says what has been, may not again be.

The due respect to the character of a Judge is essential to the dignified and equal distribution of justice; this respect never can be lost, but by the misconduct of Judges themselves. High as they are raised, they are still fallible men "A Judge may be elevated in rank, and he may be ignorant; he may be experienced, and he may be corrupt; he may be learned, and he may be feeble; or he may be old and doat."

We have now traced the conduct of Administration through an alarming climax, from the beginning to nearly the close of the session; we have seen them *avow corruption,* and talk of their *strength;* we have seen them object to a place-bill, that it destroyed responsibility, and then oppose responsibility; we have seen them remedy an unconstitutional police in the capital, by assuming a power to extend it over the kingdom *thus far under color and form of law.* We have seen them quit this peddling game, throw off those obsolete forms, and strike at once at the vitals of the constitution; we have seen them pervert the regal prerogative to the destruction of public liberty, by the sale of peerages, and applying the produce to purchasing seats in the House of Commons—*This was an invasion of the constitution.* We have seen them break through the sacred pale of civil liberty, the last great refuge under public oppression, and, with an unnecessary and petulant prodigality of reputation, justify the doctrine of excessive bail, against which the subject was, thought to be, protected by no less a security than the BILL OF RIGHTS—*This was in open breach of the law.*

Such has been the conduct of Administration, bold and peremptory, and decided in mischief: but they have done more; *they have denied that their measures were obnoxious to the people,* and they have triumphantly called on their opponents to prove the contrary. It is that defiance which has produced this Pamphlet. I am no occasional Whig; I am no constitutional Tory; I am addicted to no party, but the party of the nation. I have stated the questions between Government and Opposition impartially, to the utmost extent of my very limited talents; in this, whatever want of ability I may have be-

trayed, I trust I have not been found deficient in integrity. But who or what I am is of no consequence; the interest of the nation is at stake, and to that I hasten.

All investigation of public measures in Parliament is, for the present, over, and the people without doors are to judge whether they have been good or evil. Government has called on the nation to censure or approve, and will not the nation arouse at the great appeal? The facts lie before them. This is not the close of an ordinary session. It is a return of the legislative body into the mass of the people. It is such an opportunity as will not occur for eight years, an alarming deduction from the life of a man! The people may now show their approbation or abhorrence of public measures, by their choice of public men. If they return the veteran offenders, who, in so many instances, have basely deserted their rights, they forfeit the last sad consolation of the wretched, the right to complain: venal and prostitute themselves, shall they dare to arraign venality and prostitution in their representative? But I will not dwell on so discouraging a prospect. I turn with a fond, and, I hope, a founded confidence, to what will be the great and glorious line which my country will pursue on the impending election.

Let every county, city, and free corporation in the kingdom, come forward and speak their sentiments on the late proceedings; let them not attach themselves to this or that set of men, but adhere to great principles, not liable to fluctuation or change. If they would not have an armed ruffian stand sentinel at every man's door in the land, let them reprobate the police. If they would annihilate corruption, let them condemn the pension list. If they would keep the House of Commons uninfluenced, let them approve the place bill. If they would guard the treasure of the public, from the rapacious prodigality of an English viceroy, let them demand responsibility. If they would preserve the purity of the legislature from the insidious seduction of an English Secretary, let them cry aloud at the prostitution of the Peerage, by making it saleable. If, however, constitutional liberty be no longer an object worthy of exertion, *let men consult their senses;* if they will preserve even the miserable consolation of the political slave, personal immunity, if they are not enamoured of bolts and of shackles, let

them, without the idle dread of an attachment, fulminate their indignation and abhorrence of the late atrocious invasion of the liberty of the subject, by the doctrine of excessive bail.

Such, my countrymen, are the objects I would propose to you. I do not confine this address to Electors only; they have, it is true, a more active mode to testify their resentments, by withholding their votes from the sordid betrayer of their rights; but they are not more interested in the freedom of Ireland than the great body of the people who have no suffrage. Let every county, I again repeat it, let every city, borough, parish club, in the Kingdom, come forward, and speak their determination. If you do this, where is the Minister that prizes his head, who will dare to oppose four millions of people, fresh from the recovery of their rights from a foreign usurpation, and unknowing to surrender them to a domestic Tyrant?——If you do not —— But I will not form a supposition so degrading to your spirit and understanding, at the very instant when I subscribe myself

AN INDEPENDENT IRISH WHIG.

SPANISH WAR!

AN

INQUIRY

HOW FAR

IRELAND IS BOUND, OF RIGHT,

TO

EMBARK IN THE IMPENDING CONTEST

ON

The side of Great Britain:

ADDRESSED TO

The Members of both Houses of Parliament.

——— Tecum prius ergo voluta
Hæc animo ante tubas; galeatum sero duelli
Pœnitet! JUVENAL.

1790.

MANY of the ideas in the following pages may doubtless appear extraordinary, and some of them, to cautious men, too hardy. To the first, it may be answered, that, until the present, no occasion has happened where such a question could arise, as I venture to investigate. Since the lately acknowledged independence of Ireland, this is the first time when our assistance to Britain has become necessary, and the question of right had better be settled in the outset. To the last, I shall only submit, that it is not whether the ideas are hardy, but whether they are true, that is of importance to this Kingdom. If the reason of my countrymen be convinced, I have no doubt of their spirit.

CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

APPROACHING WAR WITH SPAIN.

My Lords and Gentlemen: The Minister of England has formally announced the probability of a rupture with Spain; the British nation is arming with all possible energy and despatch; and, from the Land's End to the Orkneys, nothing is to be heard but dreadful note of preparation; ships are equipped, press warrants are granted, beating orders issued, and a million raised; all parties unite in one great principle—the support of the national honor, and pulling down Spanish pride; and hope and glowing expectation kindle the native valor of England; the British lion has lashed himself into a fury, and woe to the unlucky Spaniard whom he may seize in his gripe.

But this is not all; the Minister of England, in the overflowing of his benevolence to this happy Isle, has been graciously pleased to allow us an opportunity of following the noble beast in the course of glory and of profit; so that we may, from his leavings, glean up sufficient of honor and wealth to emblazon and enrich us till time shall be no more. Press warrants are granted, and beating orders issued here, too, and the youth of Hibernia have no more to do but to take the King's money first, as earnest, and the riches of Spain follow of course.

I know the ardent valor of my countrymen, ever impatient of peace and prompt for battle, heightened and inflamed as it now is by the eloquence of the sergeant and the music of his drum, will strongly impel them, *more majorum*, to brandish the cudgel first, and discuss the merits after; a very common process among them. But you, my Lords and Gentlemen, will, I trust, look

a little deeper into things; with all the spirit of our rustics, you will show that you are just and prudent, as well as valiant. *Now* is the instant for consideration, before the Rubicon be passed; and the example which Cæsar shewed, the bravest of you need not blush to follow.

It is universally expected, that, at your meeting, the Secretary will come forward, to acquaint you that his Majesty is preparing for war with Spain, and hopes for your concurrence to carry it on, so as to procure the blessings of an honorable peace. This message he will endeavor to have answered by an address, offering, very frankly, our lives and fortunes to the disposal of the British Minister, in the approaching contest; and, that this may not appear mere profession, the popular apprehension is, that it will be followed up by a vote of credit for three hundred thousand pounds, as our quota of the expense; a sum of a magnitude very alarming to the finances of this country. But it is not the magnitude of the grant which is the great object; it is the consequence of it, involving a question between the two countries of no less importance than this: "Whether "Ireland be, of right, bound to support a war, declared by the "King of Great Britain, on motives and interests purely Bri-"tish?" If it appear that she is, it is our duty to submit to the necessity, however inconvenient; if it appear that she is not so bound, but may grant or withhold her assistance to England, then it will be for your wisdoms to consider whether war be for her interest or not. If it be, you will doubtless take the necessary steps to carry it on with spirit and effect; if it be not, you will make arrangements to obtain and secure a safe and honorable neutrality.

The present is a question of too much importance to both countries, to be left unsettled; but though it be of great weight and moment indeed, I do not apprehend it to be of great difficulty. The matter of *right* lies in a nutshell, turning on two principles which no man will, I hope, pretend to deny: First, That the Crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, and her legislature separate and independent; and, secondly, that the prerogative of the Crown, and the constitution and powers of Parliament, are the same here as in Great Britain.

It is, undoubtedly, the King's royal prerogative to declare war against any power it may please him to quarrel with; and

when proclamation is made here to that effect, I admit, we are then engaged, just as the people of England are, in similar circumstances. But as we have here a free and independent Parliament, it is as undoubtedly their privilege to grant, or withhold, the supplies; and if they peremptorily refuse them, and the Mutiny Act, I know not how an army is to be paid, or governed, without proceeding to means not to be thought on. It follows, therefore, that the Parliament of Ireland have a kind of negative voice, in the question of war and peace, exactly similar to that of the English Parliament. If, then, they have this deliberative power, they are no further bound to support a war, than the English Parliament is, which may, undoubtedly, compel peace at any time by postponing the Money and Mutiny Bills. They are, therefore, not bound to support any war, until they have previously approved and adopted it. The King of Ireland may *declare* the war, but it is the Parliament only that can carry it on. If this be so, it follows, very clearly, that we are not, more than England, *ipso facto*, committed, merely by the declaration of war of our own King; and, *a fortiori*, much less are we committed by his declaration, as King of Great Britain, when our interest is endamaged, and the quarrel and the profit are merely and purely English.

If the Parliament of England address his Majesty for war, and, in consequence, war be proclaimed; if we are at once, without our consent, perhaps against our will and our interest, engaged, and our Parliament bound to support that war, in pursuance of that address; then, I say, the independence of Ireland is sacrificed, we are bound by the act of the British Parliament, and the charter of our liberties is waste paper. To talk of the independence of a country, and yet deny her a negative voice in a question of no less import to her well-being, than that of peace or war, is impudent nonsense. But, I hope and trust, no man at this day will be so hardy as to advance such an assertion, or to deny that our Parliament is co-ordinate with that of England, and equally competent to the regulation of all our domestic concerns and foreign interests, with similar powers of assent and refusal, and if so, with equal right to receive or reject a war.

From the question of *right*, which will not be denied you, suffer me to call your attention to the question of *expediency*.

You may, at your will, draw the sword, or hold out the olive. It remains, therefore, to examine which line of conduct is likely to be most beneficial to your country. Before you commit yourselves, decidedly, to war or peace, it behoves you well to consider the consequences of both to Ireland; see what she can gain, see what she must lose, try how far her interest or her honor is concerned: reflect, that on your first vote depend the properties, the liberties, the lives of thousands of your countrymen; and, above all, remember you are about to make a precedent for future ages, in the great question of the obligation on Ireland to follow Great Britain to war, as a necessary appendage.

What, in the first place, are the grounds of the quarrel as to Ireland? and what are the profits she has to look to from the contest between Spain and England?

It will not be pretended that *we* have immediately, from our own concerns, any ground for interfering in the approaching war; on the contrary, peace with all the world, but peace with Spain, particularly, is *our* object and our interest. The quarrel is merely and purely English. A few individuals in China, members of a company which is possessed of a monopoly of the commerce to the East, *to the utter exclusion of this country*, fitted out certain ships to trade to the North Western coast of America, for furs, which they expected would prove a lucrative article of traffic. The Spaniards, actuated by pride or jealousy, or both, have, it seems, seized these vessels, to the disgrace of (not the Irish, but) the British flag, and to enforce satisfaction, an armament is preparing. In this transaction the probability is that Spain is in the wrong, and England is acting with no more than a becoming spirit; but the question with us is, not who is wrong, or who is right? Ours are discussions of a different nature; to foster and cherish a growing trade, to cultivate and civilize a yet unpolished people, to obliterate the impression of ancient religious feuds, to watch, with incessant and anxious care, the cradle of an infant Constitution; these are our duties, and these are indispensable. Removed a hemisphere from the scene of action, unconnected with the interest in question, debarred from the gains of the commerce, what has Ireland to demand her interference, more than if the debate arose between the Emperor of Japan, and the King of Corea? Will she profit

if England secure the trade? No. Will she lose if England cannot obtain one Otter skin? No. Shall we eat, drink, or sleep, one jot the worse, whether the Mandarins of Pekin line their doublets with furs purchased from a Spanish or an English merchant? No. Decidedly, then, the quarrel is *English*, the profit will be to England, and Ireland will be left to console herself for her treasure spent, and her gallant sons fallen, by the reflection that valor, like virtue, is its own reward, and that she has given Great Britain one more opportunity to be ungrateful. So much for the ground of quarrel, and the profit *we* are to expect from the war!

Let me now humbly submit to your consideration, the actual certainty we are required to sacrifice to these brilliant expectations, and I will do it from your own authentic documents. Subjoined, in an Appendix, is a view of the whole of our commerce with Spain, for the year 1789, from which I shall extract the most important articles here. In doing this, it is my wish to be as correct as possible, but the *value* of most of the articles I am obliged to appreciate by conjecture and inquiry. There is a book in the possession of Administration, called the National Stock Book, wherein the *value* of all the exports and imports is inserted; but this is industriously kept back from you, so that, in the documents submitted to you, containing, in most articles, only the *quantum*, you must content yourselves with doing what I have done, and make the best inquiries you can. It appears that the following are the principal articles of your exports:

Linen	£26,779	0	0
Wheat	17,056	0	0
Pork	17,190	0	0
Butter	37,539	0	0
Bacon	4,260	0	0
Beef	3,207	0	0
Flour	3,718	0	0
Barley	3,794	0	0
Total	£113,543	0	0

Which, with other articles mentioned in the Appendix, makes the gross amount of your exports, £117,428 3*s*. 2*d*.

On this trade, I shall only remark, that your staple manufacture, your agriculture and tillage, are most materially concerned.

The following, from the same authority, is the account of your imports from Spain in the same year, but I confess myself less competent to ascertain their value. I shall, therefore, unless in one or two of the most material articles, set down only the *quantum* imported :

Dying Stuffs.	Drugs	£2,000	value.
	Argal	6	cwt.
	Cochineal	1,223	lb.
	Indigo	5,995	lb,
	Logwood	790	cwt.
	Madder	50	cwt.
	Sumach	382	cwt.
	Salt	23,226	bushs.
	Brandy	17,847	gals.*
	Wine	977	tons.
	Canes	55,600	
Wool.	Beaver	150	lb.
	Cotton	123 cwt. 21	lb.
	Spanish	13	cwt.
Pot ashes, 52,378 cwt. at 25*s.* per cwt.		£65,972.	

Of these, it is to be observed, that the dye stuffs, salt, canes, wool, and pot ash, constitute the materials and implements of future manufactures, the most beneficial species of importation.†

For the loss of this trade, the only compensation war holds out to you, is the provision trade for the army and navy; of all others the least advantageous, as is universally known, to the interests of this kingdom.

Such is the present state of your commerce with Spain, the whole of which is, at one blow, cut up; your commerce with other nations loaded with an heavy insurance; your manufactures nipped in the bud, and, in a word, every branch of trade suspended, except the slaughtering of bullocks and men. And for what is all this? *We* have no quarrel with Spain, no infrac-

* Worth about £2,600.

† The price of the pot ash I have taken from Anderson, vol. 6, p. 707.

tion of good faith, no national insult to complain of. No, but we have the resentments of a rapacious English East Indian monopolist to gratify, who, at the distance of half the globe, kindles the torch of war amidst the eternal snows of Nootka Sound, and hurls it into the bosom of our commerce. The rising prosperity of Ireland is immolated on the altar of British pride and avarice; we are forced to combat without resentment in the quarrel of an alien, where victory is unprofitable, and defeat is infamous.

Having examined the question on the ground of profit and loss to Ireland, I presume it appears clearly that we shall make an immense sacrifice of blood, treasure, and trade, to establish a right in which, when it is obtained, we are never to participate. If, therefore, we embark in this war, it is not in support of *our immediate particular interest;* on the contrary, it is evident we shall be very considerable losers by the most prosperous issue. The principle of *expediency*, therefore, must be given up, and it follows that we engage, if at all, on the principle of *moral obligation:* the arguments on this ground are reduceable to three—*the good of the empire, the honor of the British flag*, and *the protection which England affords us.*

I confess I am, in the outset, much staggered by a phrase so very specious, and of such general acceptation as this of "*the good of the empire.*" Yet, after all, what does it mean? or what is the *empire?* I believe it is understood to mean the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland with independent legislatures, united under one head. But this union of the Executive does by no means, to my apprehension, imply so complete an union of power or of interest, that an injury, or a benefit to one, is an injury or a benefit to the other; on the contrary, the present emergency shews that occasions may arise wherein the direct opposite is the fact. It is not two kingdoms being united under one head that involves, as a necessary consequence, a unity of resentment. His Majesty's electoral dominions are not concerned in this Spanish quarrel, and I would ask how are we more concerned, unless it be that we speak the English language? The King of Hungary is also Grand Duke of Tuscany, yet no man thinks that the Tuscans are bound to sacrifice their trade or their men in his German quarrels, and, in consequence, we see them at this hour neutral, and, therefore, flourishing in the midst

of a bloody and destructive war. It is convenient, doubtless, for England, and for her instruments in this country, to cry up the "*good of the empire*" because it lays the power of Ireland at her disposal; but if the empire consists of two parts, one of which is to reap the whole profit of a contest, and the other to share only the difficulties and the danger, I know not why we should be so misled by sounds as to sacrifice solid advantages to the whistling of the name of "*empire.*" The good of the whole empire consists of the good of all the parts; but in our case the good of one part is renounced to establish the good of the other. Let us, for God's sake, call things by their proper names; let us analyse this unmeaning and fallacious mixed mode "*empire*" into its components, England and Ireland, and then see how the matter stands. England has a quarrel with Spain, in a matter concerning her own interest exclusively, and wherein she is to reap the whole profit. Ireland has *no quarrel*, but, on the contrary, a very beneficial intercourse with Spain, which she is required to renounce to her infinite present detriment; she is called on, likewise, to squander her wealth and shed her blood in this English East Indian quarrel, and then she is told, to console her, that she has been advancing "*the good of the empire!*" Let us substitute "*England*" for *the* "*empire,*" and see if it be not nearer the fact and truth. Certainly, if there be such a thing as this "*empire,*" and if the general good of this "*empire*" be forwarded by the particular loss and suffering of Ireland, I may be allowed to say, it would be better for her there were none.

Suppose, in this great era of revolution, the French were to acknowledge the title of his Majesty, set forth on his guineas, to the throne of their kingdom; that he were, in gratitude, to move his royal residence to Paris, and govern England by a French Viceroy, and on French views and principles: suppose the merchants of Marseilles were to quarrel with the Turks in the Levant, and find it expedient to go to war; suppose the merchants of London to have a very gainful trade to the Levant, and to find those same Turks fair and honest dealers—what answer would the intelligent and virtuous Parliament of England give to the Viceroy, who should come forward and demand them to renounce this trade and its profits, to sink the value of their lands, and fetter and cramp their commerce with a load

of additional taxes, to send forth the bravest of their youth to battle and slaughter, and then tell them it was all for the good of *the common empire of France and England?* The Viceroy would act like a good Frenchman in making the requisition, but he would find the English nation too determined and too wise to listen to such idle babble, as that of forwarding *the common good* of two independent nations, by the certain loss and detriment and damage of one of them.

Now, setting aside our prejudice against the idea of a French Viceroy at St. James's, will any man deny that the actual case of Ireland at this day, is exactly parallel with that of England which I have supposed? with this difference, however, that when the war was over, France and England might renew their trade with Turkey, but the trade which is at present in dispute between England and Spain, Ireland can, by no possible contingency, ever attain a share in.

The argument then stands thus: The quantum of consolidated power in the "*empire*" may be increased by a successful war, but it is distributed entirely to one of the components, while the other is at a certain loss. Suppose the joint strength before the war to be as twelve, England being as eight, and Ireland as four, and after the war to be as fourteen; England being as eleven, with one-third gained, and Ireland as three, with one-fourth lost; it is very obvious that there would be an increase of power in the "*empire,*" resulting, however, from a very alarming defalcation from one of the parts. And this is no exaggerated supposition, when we consider the mode in which each country must necessarily carry on the war. During the contest, to Ireland nothing is certain but a heavy loss of trade, men, and money. Our privateers, from the discouragement to Irish navigation, are few, and navy we have none; whereas, England may not only support the contest, but be absolutely enriched by a Spanish war, even during its continuance. Her powerful navy, her infinite number of corsairs, bring in wealthy prizes from every point of the compass. Where then, is the equality of empire? or what are our temptations to war?

I have shewn, as I presume, that in the use of the word "*empire,*" we are the dupes of a sound; if, as I contend, the good of the empire turns out, when examined, to signify no more than

the good of England, purchased, and dearly purchased, at a heavy loss to Ireland, I know not what quixotic spirit of national generosity misguided, or gratitude misplaced, shall pretend to exact such a sacrifice from us. I hasten, therefore, to the next grand argument for our interference, *the honor of the British flag;* an argument, on the face of it, degrading to our country, and dishonorable to our spirit; an argument, the mention of which should make every Irishman hang his head in sorrow and abasement. WHERE IS THE NATIONAL FLAG OF IRELAND? I know there are those who, covering their apathy or their corruption with the specious garb of wise and prudent caution, may raise their hands in astonishment at this, as an idle exclamation; but, I say, that such a badge of inferiority, between the two Kingdoms, is a serious grievance. Is the bold pride of patriotism nothing? Is the ardent spirit of independence nothing? Is national rank nothing? If the flag of England be, as it is, dearer to every brave Englishman than his life, is the wish for a similar badge of honor to Ireland to be scouted as a chimera? Can the same sentiment be great and glorious on one side the channel, and wild and absurd on the other? It is a mortifying truth, but not the less true for its severity, that the honor of the British is the degradation of the Irish flag. We are compelled to skulk under the protection of England, by a necessity of our own creation; or, if we have not created, we have submitted to it. We are contented to be the subaltern instrument in the hands of our artful and ambitious and politic sister, without one ray of generous national pride beaming forth to light us on to our honor and our interest. We raise the lofty temple of her glory, but we cannot, or we dare not, inscribe our name on the entablature. Do we not, in the system of her naval arrangements, see the narrow jealousy, and interested caution of England, betray itself in every feature? Where are the docks, the arsenals of Ireland? How many of the British navy have been built in our harbors? Where are the encouragements held out to Irish navigation? What is the fair and liberal and equitable construction laid by Englishmen on the navigation act? *We are not to be trusted!* we are to be kept in pupilage, without a navy, or the rudiments of a navy, that we may be retained in subjection and dependance on England, and so be compelled to purchase her protection, whenever her interest or her pride may think proper to plunge us into a war.

And this leads me to the last argument for our supporting Great Britain, *gratitude for the protection which she affords us.*

As this is an argument addressed to a very warm and honorable sentiment, and, therefore, likely to have some weight with Irishmen, who feel much better than they reason, I shall take the liberty to examine it with some attention.

I lay it down, then, as a principle, that no man has a right to lay another, perforce, under an obligation; I mean, to put him in that state that the obligation becomes unavoidable. No man has a right to run me into difficulties, that he may extricate me from them. The original necessity, superinduced by him, leaves him little, if any claim to gratitude for the subsequent service; but his claim will be infinitely weakened, if, in superinducing this necessity, he does me an actual, violent injury. If a man hire a banditti to attack the house of another, and then volunteer the defence of it, I believe it will not be said that the owner is much indebted to him, though his defence should prove successful; but if, in the attack, the house should be burned and the owner robbed of his goods, and sorely wounded into the bargain, I humbly conceive that the subsequent defence, however sincere, makes but a poor atonement for the original attack, and that if any feeling be excited, it should be a very strong and natural resentment. Now, let us see what is the boasted *protection* of England. When has she ever held it forth that she did not first make it necessary? For her own interest and honor she embarks in war, and drags in this unoffending and unoffended country as a necessary sequel, exposes us to a thousand dangers and difficulties in a cause where we have no hope of profit, or advantage, or glory, for who has heard of the glory of Ireland, merged as it is in that of Great Britain? and then she defends us, or perhaps does not defend us, from the resentment of *her*, not *our* enemy, and so the mighty debt of gratitude accrues; and we are bound to ruin our commerce and lavish our treasure, and spill our best blood in her quarrel, and still remain her debtor for protection in a war, which she has wantonly and unnecessarily, as to this country, plunged us into. If this be the protection of England, I, for one, could be well content that we were left to our own wisdom to avoid, or our own spirit to support a contest.

But what becomes of this famous argument of protection, if it appears, by the infallible testimony of facts, that no such thing exists? What have been the wars that England has embarked in for Irish interests? Her most determined supporters cannot allege one. But, perhaps, they may draw on futurity for the deficiency of experience, and tell us that if we wanted her aid, she would be prompt and willing to afford it. Have we, then, forgot the memorable protection of the last war, when one or two paltry American privateers harassed and plundered our trade with impunity, even in our very ports, and the people of Belfast were told, "You have a troop of horse and a company of "invalids, and, if that will not do, you may protect yourselves." An answer not easily to be forgiven or forgot, and which, perhaps, England herself would now, were it possible, wish unsaid. What were the armaments equipped to compel Portugal to do us justice, but a very few years since? Did the navy of England appear in the Tagus to demand satisfaction for our woollens seized and detained? No: we were left at last, and not without a long and strenuous opposition from the British Minister in Ireland, to extort justice as we might, for ourselves, by a heavy duty on the wines of Portugal. After this, let us not be told of the protection of England.

I have examined the question in three great views: as a question of strict right, as a question of expediency, and as a question of moral obligation; and, to my apprehension, in every one of the three, war is peremptorily evil for Ireland. If the Spaniards fall by our hands in an unjust war, their deaths are murder; if we seize their property, it is robbery. Let me now submit to your consideration the probable consequences of your refusing your countenance and support to this war, with respect to the two countries, Spain and England.

It may be said that Spain will not consider you as a neutral, though you may call yourselves so. But I say, if you were to address his Majesty, praying him to direct his Ministers to acquaint the Spanish Court with your absolute neutrality, do you think her so unwise a nation as to choose you rather for her enemy than her customer, and so to fling you into the scale of England, already more than a match for her? Do you think that the communication between Spain and Ireland, when the ports of England were closed against her, would not be a source

of opulence yet unknown in this country? Would you not have, circuitously, the Spanish trade of England pass through your hands? Would not Spain pay every attention and respect to your flag? or, if she did not, *then* you would have a lawful and fair ground for quarrel, and might, and would, soon teach her that you were not a nation to be insulted with impunity.

That England would exclaim, is what we might expect. We know with what reluctance she has ever renounced any badge of her domination over this country, and it cannot be supposed she would give up this last without a pang. But, surely, where the right is clearly established, your first duty is to your native land. I renounce the idea of national generosity. What was the language of the wisest of your senators on a great occasion? "*Individuals may be generous, but nations never.*" I deny the tie of national gratitude; we owe no gratitude, where we have received no favor. If we did, in 1782, extort our rights from England at the very muzzle of the cannon, whom have we to thank but *ourselves?* Interested individuals may hold forth the nonsensical cant of the generosity of England; let us, on this important occasion, speak the language of truth and common sense. It is the spirit of Ireland, not the generosity of England, to which we owe our rights and liberties; and the same spirit that obtained, will continue to defend them.

What can England do to us? With what countenance, what color of justice, can she upbraid us for following her own process? What should Irish policy be, by British example? *First of all, take care of ourselves.* We invade none of her rights; we but secure our own. Why then should we fear her resentment? But the timid will say, she may withdraw the protection of her flag from us, and I answer, let her do so; every thing is beneficial to Ireland that throws us on our own strength. We should then look to our internal resources, and scorn to sue for protection to any foreign state; we should spurn the idea of moving, an humble satellite round any power, however great, and claim at once, and enforce, our rank among the primary nations of the earth. Then should we have, what, under the present system, *we never shall see,* A NATIONAL FLAG, and spirit to maintain it. If we then fought and bled we should not feel the wound, when we turned our eyes to the Harp waving proudly over the ocean. But now, what are the victories of Britain to us? Her's is the

quarrel, her's the glory, her's the profit, and to us nothing but the certainty of danger and of death; the action is over, and the name of Ireland is never heard; for England, not our country, we fight and we die. Yet, even under these forbidding circumstances, such is the restless valor of Irishmen, that we rush to action as eagerly, and maintain it as firmly, as if *our* interest, or *our* honor were at stake. We plant the laurel and water it with our best blood, and Britain reposes under the shade.

I have now done, and with you, my Lords and gentlemen, it rests to estimate the weight of what I have advanced. The Parliament ye constitute is a young Parliament. Your innocence is yet, I trust, untainted by the rank leaven of corruption. Ye have no interests to bias your judgment but the interest of Ireland. Your first opportunity for exertion is a great one—no less than fixing the rank of your country among the nations of the earth. May the gracious wisdom of Providence enlighten your minds, expand your hearts, and direct your councils to the advantage of your own honor, and the establishment of the welfare and glory and independence of Ireland, for ever and ever.

HIBERNICUS.

CATHOLICS.

AN

ARGUMENT

ON BEHALF OF THE

CATHOLICS OF IRELAND,

IN WHICH THE

Present Political State of that Country,

AND THE

Necessity of a Parliamentary Reform,

ARE CONSIDERED.

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE, AND MORE PARTICULARLY TO THE PROTESTANTS OF IRELAND.

1791.

TO THE READER.

IN the following Pamphlet I have omitted all general arguments in favor of a Parliamentary Reform, which equally apply to England and Ireland, and have confined myself almost entirely to such as exclusively apply to our own country. The general question has been so often and so ably handled, that the public mind is sufficiently informed; and it is by no means my wish to swell my book, and fatigue my readers by compiling arguments, which, however powerful, have been repeated, until we may pronounce that, if they have not convinced, conviction is hopeless. I have argued, therefore, little on the abstract right of the people to reform their Legislature; for, after PAINE, who will, or who need, be heard on that subject?

It may be necessary to premise, that, when I use the term *Government*, I do not mean by it the Legislature, as it exists in theory, but a certain junto of men of both countries, some of them Members of our Legislature, and others not, who possess the supreme power in this country.

TO THE PEOPLE.

BEFORE I proceed to the object of this book, I think it necessary to acquaint the reader that I am a Protestant of the Church of Ireland, as by law established, and have again and again taken all the customary oaths by which we secure and appropriate to ourselves all degrees and professions, save one, to the utter exclusion of our Catholic Brethren. I am, therefore, no further interested in the event than as a mere lover of justice, and a steady detester of tyranny, whether exercised by one man or one million.

The present state of Ireland is such as is not to be paralleled in history or fable. Inferior to no country in Europe in the gifts of nature; blest with a temperate sky and a fruitful soil; intersected by many great rivers; indented round her whole coast with the noblest harbors; abounding with all the necessary materials for unlimited commerce; teeming with inexhaustible mines of the most useful metals; filled by 4,000,000 of an ingenious and a gallant people, with bold hearts and ardent spirits; posted right in the track between Europe and America, within 50 miles of England, 300 of France; yet, with all these great advantages, unheard of and unknown, without pride, or power, or name; without ambassadors, army, or navy; not of half the consequence in the empire of which she has the honor to make a part, with the single county of York, or the loyal and well regulated town of Birmingham!

These are, or should be, to every true Irishman, mortifying considerations. It remains to examine what can be the cause of our so shameful depression, to discover and to apply with temper and with firmness the remedy, and thus to restore, or, if not restore, to create a rank for our country among the nations of the earth.

The proximate cause of our disgrace is our evil Government, the remote one is our own intestine division, which, if once removed, the former will be instantaneously reformed.

It is necessary for the physician to know the disorder, and it is folly to conceal it from the patient himself. If he has the spirit of a man, he will hear the worst with intrepidity, and bear it with fortitude: death is very terrible, but there are things more terrible than death.

The misfortune of Ireland is, that we have no *National Government*, in which we differ from England, and from all Europe. In England the King is resident, and his presence begets infinite advantages; the Government is English, with English views and interests only; the people are very powerful, though they have not their due power; whoever is, or would be Minister, can secure or arrive at office only by studying and following their will, their passions, and their very prejudices: hence, the interests of king, ministers, and people, move forward in one and the same direction, advanced or retarded by the same means, and cannot even in idea be separated.

But is it so in Ireland?

What is our Government? it is a phenomenon in politics, contravening all received and established opinions: it is a Government derived from another country, whose interest, so far from being the same with that of the people, directly crosses it at right angles: does any man think that our rulers here recommend themselves to their creators in England, by promoting the interest of Ireland, when it can in the most remote degree interfere with the commerce of Great Britain?* But how is this foreign Government maintained? Look to your court calendar, to your pension list, to your concordatum, and you will

* If this be doubted, let the proceedings of last session with regard to the Arigna Iron Works and the Double Loom be remembered, to each of which the smallest parliamentary aid was refused. Why? Because they might interfere with English interests; though the former would have kept 250,000*l.* annually at home, the greater part of which goes to England; and the latter would at once have doubled the weaving power of the kingdom in the linen, silk, and calico branches. But above all, let the memorable debate on the East India Trade be recalled, when Administration boldly threw off the mask, and told Ireland she should have no such trade, because it might interfere with the interest of England.

☞ *They have such a trade in America, and they deserve to have it.*

find the answer written in *letters of gold:* this unnatural influence must be supported by profligate means, and hence corruption is the only medium of Government in Ireland. The people are utterly disregarded and defied: divided and distracted as they are, and distrustful of each other, they fall an easy prey to English rulers, or their Irish subalterns: the fear of danger is removed from Administration by our internal weakness, and the sense of shame speedily follows it: hence it is, that we see peculation protected, venality avowed, the peerage prostituted, the commons corrupted. We see all this at the very hour, when every where but in Ireland reform is going forward, and levelling ancient abuses in the dust. Why are these things so? Because Ireland is struck with a political paralysis, that has withered her strength, and crushed her spirit: she is not half alive, one side is scarce animated, the other is dead; she has by her own law, as it were, amputated her right hand; she has outrun the gospel precept, and cast her right eye into the fire, even before it has offended her: religious intolerance and political bigotry, like the tyrant Mezentius, bind the living Protestant to the dead and half corrupted Catholic, and beneath the putrid mass, even the embryo of effort is stifled. When the nation is thus circumstanced, it is not to be wondered at, if even an Administration of boobies and blockheads presume to insult, and pillage, and contemn, and defy her.

Under such an Administration, if God Almighty could, in his wrath, suffer such an one long to exist, the virtue and the talents of the land would be blasted in the bud. No Irishman of rank could become a member or supporter of Government, without at once renouncing all pretensions to common decency, honesty, or honor: all great endowments of the mind, all lofty sentiments of the soul, would be necessarily and eternally excluded; and the Government, when once in such hands, must remain so; political vice, like the principle of fermentation, would propagate itself, and contaminate every succeeding particle, until the fury of an enraged people, or the just anger of offended heaven, should at length, by one blow, destroy or annihilate the whole polluted mass!

But to quit hypothetic speculation, and descend to facts:

I have said that we have *no National Government.* Before the year 1782, it was not pretended that we had, and it is at

least a curious, if not an useful speculation, to examine how we stand in that regard now. And I have little dread of being confuted, when I assert, that all we got by what we are pleased to dignify with the name of *Revolution*, was simply, *the means of doing good according to law, without recurring to the great rule of nature, which is above all positive statutes.* Whether we have done good or not, and if not, why we have omitted to do good, is a serious question. The pride of the nation, the vanity of individuals concerned, the moderation of some honest men, the corruption of knaves, I know may be alarmed, when I assert, that the Revolution of 1782, was the most bungling, imperfect business, that ever threw ridicule on a lofty epithet, by assuming it unworthily: it is not pleasant to any Irishman to make such a confession, but it cannot be helped if truth will have it so: it is much better that we should know and feel our real state, than delude ourselves, or be gulled by our enemies with praises, which we do not deserve, or imaginary blessings which we do not enjoy.

I leave to the admirers of that era to vent flowing declamations on its theoretical advantages, and its visionary glories; it is a fine subject, and peculiarly flattering to my countrymen; many of whom were actors, and almost all spectators of it. Be mine the unpleasing task to strip it of its plumage and its tinsel, and shew the naked figure. The operation will be severe; but if properly attended to, may give us a strong and striking lesson of caution and of wisdom.

The Revolution of 1782 was a Revolution which enabled Irishmen to sell, at a much higher price, their honor, their integrity, and the interests of their country; it was a Revolution, which, while at one stroke it doubled the value of every borough-monger in the kingdom, left three-fourths of our countrymen slaves as it found them, and the Government of Ireland in the base and wicked and contemptible hands, who had spent their lives in degrading and plundering her; nay, some of whom had given their last vote decidedly, though hopelessly, against this our famous Revolution. Who of the veteran enemies of the country lost his place or his pension? Who was called forth to station or office from the ranks of Opposition? Not one! The power remained in the hands of our enemies, again to be exerted for our ruin, with this difference, that formerly we had our distresses, our injuries, and our insults gratis, at the hands of

England; but now we pay very dearly to receive the same with aggravation, through the hands of Irishmen; yet this we boast of, and call a Revolution.

See how much the strength of *the people* has been augmented by the arrangement of 1782! For two successive sessions, we have seen measures of the most undeniable benefit, and the most unqualified necessity to the country, enforced by all the efforts of the most consummate ability, and repelled without even the shadow of argument by Administration; an Administration, consisting numerically of the individuals who had opposed the extension of your commerce in 1779, and the amelioration of your constitution in 1782. You find, or you are utterly senseless, in the loss of the Place Bill, the Responsibility Bill, the Pension Bill—in a word, all the measures of last session, that you have no weight whatsoever, that Administration despise and laugh at you, and that while you remain in your present state of apathy and ignorance, they will continue to insult and to contemn you.

Why do I speak thus of your famous exertions in 1782? Not to depreciate them below their value, for I honor and I love the spirit that then animated you. I am sure a great majority of those who then conducted you, were actuated by a sincere regard to your interest and your freedom; I am sure that some of your leaders were men of high integrity, and some of consummate wisdom; I do believe that as much, or very nearly as much, as could then be done, was done; and though I regret, yet I do not accuse the caution that induced those who acted for you, to stop short in their honorable career. The minds of men were not at that time, perhaps, ripe for exertions, which a thousand circumstances that have since happened, cry aloud for. We are now, I hope, wiser, bolder, and more liberal, and we have the great mistress, dear-bought experience, to warn us from past errors, and guide us on to future good.

I hope it appears, from what I have said, that the Revolution of 1782, is such as no Irishman of an independent spirit, and who feels for the honor and interest of his country, can acquiesce in *as final*. Much remains to be done, and it is fortunate that the end proposed is so moderate and just, the means so fair, simple, and constitutional, as to leave no ground for accusation with the most profligate of our enemies, or apprehension with the most timid of our friends.

My argument is simply this: That Ireland, as deriving her Government from another country, requires a strength in the people which may enable them, if necessary, to counteract the influence of that Government, should it ever be, as it indisputably has been, exerted to thwart her prosperity: that this strength may be most constitutionally acquired, and safely and peaceably exerted, through the medium of a Parliamentary reform: and, finally, that no reform is honorable, practicable, efficacious, or just, which does not include, as a fundamental principle, the extension of elective franchise to the Roman Catholics, under modifications hereafter to be mentioned.

I beg I may not be misunderstood or misrepresented in my first position. When I talk of English influence being predominant in this country, I do not mean to derogate from the due exertion of his Majesty's prerogative: I owe him allegiance, and if occasion should require it, I would be ready, cheerfully, to spill my blood in his service; but the influence I mean, is not as between the King and his subjects, in matter of prerogative, but as between the Government and people of England, and the Government and people of Ireland, in matter of trade and commerce. I trust in God, we owe the English nation no allegiance; nor is it yet treason to assert, as I do, that she has acquired, and maintains, an unjustifiable and dangerous weight and influence over the councils of Ireland, whose interest, wherever it clashes, or appears to clash with hers, must immediately give way. Surely, this is no question of loyalty. The King of England is King also of Ireland; he is, in theory, and, I trust, in practice, equally interested in the welfare of both countries; he cannot be offended that each of his Kingdoms should, by all honorable and just means, increase their own ability, to render him the service due to him; he cannot rejoice, when he hears that his faithful Commons of Ireland, by their own law, exclude themselves from a commerce with half the known world, in complaisance to a monopolizing English company, though he may, as the common father of both his realms, rejoice, when they vote 200,000*l.* to secure the very commerce in which they can never bear a part. It is, therefore, I repeat it, no question of loyalty. If the King can be interested in the question, it must be on the side of justice and of Ireland, because his happiness and his pride must be most gratified by

the rising prosperity of his people, to which title we have as much claim as the people of England; we love him as well; we are as faithful subjects; and if we render him not as essential services, let our means be considered, and the blighting influence which perpetually visits the harvest of our hopes, and I believe it will be found, that our zeal in his service is only circumscribed by our inability.

It is, therefore, extremely possible for the most truly loyal subject in this kingdom, deeply to regret, and conscientiously to oppose the domineering of English influence, without trenching, in the smallest degree, on the rational loyalty, so long and so justly the boast of Ireland. His loyalty is to the King of Ireland, not to the honorable United Company of Merchants, trading, where he must never trade, to the East Indies: nor is it to the clothiers in Yorkshire, nor the weavers of Manchester, nor yet to the constitutional reforming blacksmiths of Birmingham, that he owes allegiance. His first duty is to his country, his second to his King, and both are now, and by God's blessing will, I hope, remain united and inseparable.

In England we find a reform in Parliament is always popular, though it is but as a barrier against possible, not actual grievance. The people suffer in theory by the unequal distribution of the elective franchise; but practically, it is, perhaps, visionary to expect a Government that shall more carefully or steadily follow their real interests. No man can there be a Minister on any other terms. But reform in Ireland is no speculative remedy for possible evils. The Minister and the Government here hold their offices by a tenure very different from that of pursuing the public good. The people here are despised or defied; their will does not weigh a feather in the balance, when English influence, or the interest of their rulers, is thrown into the opposite scale. We have all the reasons, all the justice, that English reformists can advance, and we have a thousand others, that in England never could exist. We have, in common with England, the royal influence, and the ambition of Ministers to encounter; but we have also the jealous interference of that country to meet in every branch of trade, every department of commerce, and what barriers have we to oppose in our present state of representation? None. Of *four* millions of people, three are actually and confessedly unrepresented; of the re-

maining fourth, the electors do not exceed 60,000, and the members whom they return, supposing them all, what I wish with truth we could, men of integrity, must remain for ever a minority, for their number amounts but to eighty-two.

I fear I am wasting time in proving an axiom. Need more be said, than that a nation governed by herself will pursue her interests more steadily, than if she were governed by another, whose interest might clash with hers? Is not this more applicable, if the governing nation has a means of perpetrating the mischief without much odium, by making the governed sacrifice her interests with her own hand? And can we deny that this is the case with Ireland? I may be told that we are not governed by England, and some proud and hot-brained Irishman will again throw across me the *Revolution of* 1782, wherein we "*gloriously asserted our claim to legislate externally, as "well as internally, for ourselves:*" And I will admit, that we did assert our claim, but I deny that we have availed ourselves of the exertion of the right. We are free in theory, we are slaves in fact: When high prerogative was tumbled to the ground, gentle influence succeeded, and with infinitely less noise and bustle, retains us in our bonds. Before 1782, England bound us by her edict; it was an odious and not a very safe exertion of power; *but it cost us nothing.* Since 1782, we are bound by English influence, acting through our own Parliament; we cannot in justice accuse her, for she is only to be traced by the mischief she silently and secretly distributes; but our suffering is aggravated by this galling circumstance, that we purchase restriction of trade, and invasion of constitution, at a very dear rate. Englishmen, under the old constitution, would ruin Ireland without fee or reward; their motive was to serve their own country; but Irishmen, under the new constitution, will not prefer the interest of England to that of Ireland, without weighty considerations; they expect, and indeed not without some color of justice, to be paid extravagantly for the daily parricide they commit against the land which gave them birth: and to complete this dishonorable traffic, the purchase of their votes comes, not from the pocket of England, who is to benefit, but of Ireland, who is ruined by the sale.

The volunteers and people of Ireland were very soon after their imaginary Revolution, made, by grievous experience, sen-

sible of the truth of what I have now asserted; they saw the extent of this alarming disease, and they as soon discovered the cause and the remedy. They saw they had, literally, no weight in the Government, and they clamored for what, even on the limited plan then proposed, would at least have mitigated the disorder—a *Parliamentary Reform.* But they built on too narrow a foundation, and the superstructure naturally overset, when it was scarcely raised above the ground. They set out with sacrificing the eternal dictates of justice, to temporizing and peddling expediency; they failed, because they did not deserve to succeed. Grasping at too much, they lost all; and the fatal morning, when the Convention broke up at the Rotunda, in one moment demolished the glory, which five years of virtuous success had flattered them would be immortal.

I had the misfortune to see them on the day of their disgrace, when the great bubble burst, and carried rout and confusion, and dismay, among their ranks; when *three hundred* of the first gentlemen of Ireland, girt with swords, the representatives of the armed force of the kingdom, who, by giving independence, had given to their Parliament the means of being virtuous, fled like deer to their counties, to return no more, after making a foolish profession of their pacific intentions; foolish, because it was evident that their anxiety was how they should reach their homes, without attachments and incarceration. I saw, with sorrow, their great leader obliged to descend to the farce of intreating them to form no rash resolution against that Government, which had, in effect, scourged them home in a state of ridiculous distress and obloquy; and I wondered then, like a young man, why such men, so circumstanced, with the eyes of Europe upon them, should submit, quietly, to treatment, which a few years experience has shown was inevitable; they were disgraced, because they were illiberal, and degraded, because they were unjust; through them the honor of their country was wounded, her name sunk, her glories forgotten, and from the last day of the Convention, there has been *no people in Ireland.*

From their failure we are taught this salutary truth, that no reform can ever be obtained which shall not comprehensively embrace Irishmen of all denominations. The exclusion of the

Catholics lost the question under circumstances that must have otherwise carried it against all opposition ; the people were then strong and confident, they had arms in their hands, and were in habits of succeeding ; the same circumstances cannot easily be supposed again to combine in their favor ; but if they did, they must again fail.

The almighty source of wisdom and of goodness, has inseparably connected liberty and justice : we must adopt or reject them together ; to be completely free, we must deserve to be so. It could not be consistent with his impartial love to all his creatures, that a monopolizing Aristocracy should succeed in wresting their unalienable rights from their oppressors, at the moment they were acting the oppressors themselves to millions of their fellow-subjects.

The question now resolves itself into this: Shall we be content to remain in our present oppressed and inglorious state, unknown and unheard-of in Europe, the prey of England, the laughing-stock of the knaves, who plunder us? Or shall we temperately and constitutionally exert our power to procure a complete and radical emancipation to our country, by a reform in the representation of the people? If we choose the former, then are Irishmen formed of materials whose nature I cannot, and do not wish to understand. It is hopeless attempting to work on such spirits ; but if they be of human feeling, if they partake of the common nature of man, if injustice and oppression have not extinguished every sentiment which raises us above the beasts that perish, and makes us feel that our existence is an emanation from the Divinity, then will I believe that my countrymen are not yet lost and buried in hopeless desperation; that, to rouse them to exertion, it is but necessary to point out their duty, to excite them to justice, to shew them what is just.

Let us, for God's sake, shake off the old woman, the tales of our nurses, the terrors of our grandams, from our hearts ; let us put away childish fears, look our situation in the face like men ; let us speak to this ghastly spectre of our distempered imagination, the genius of Irish Catholicity! We shall find it vanish away like other phantoms of the brain, distempered by fear:

" Hence, horrible shadow ; unreal mock'ry, hence !"

The apprehensions of most well meaning and candid Protestants, for of the bigots in that religion, as in every other, I make no account, when they seriously resolve them into their principles, I believe generally terminate in two. First, the danger to the church establishment; and, secondly, which they much more seriously apprehend, the resumption of Catholic forfeitures; and, of course, setting the property of the kingdom afloat.

To both these apprehensions I answer, that the liberation of the Catholics will be a work of compact, and, like all other compacts, subject to stipulations. It will be for the wisdom and moderation of both parties to concede somewhat; allowance must be made on the one hand for the difficult sacrifice of parting with power, obtained in injustice, and long held by force; on the other hand, there may be something to be pardoned in men condemned to ignorance by the law of the land, and whose minds have for a century been irritated by injuries, and inflamed by open insults, or still more offensive connivance and toleration.

But here a good old Protestant lady will tell me, that all compacts between us are in vain, for no faith, nor even oaths, are to be kept with heretics; and I know she will have many to coincide in opinion with her. But, if she be right, I marvel that the oath of an Irish Papist should ever be taken in a court of justice; yet I have myself seen it done, before a Protestant Judge and Jury, who decided as if the witness were actually credible, and without inquiry into the articles of his faith. What becomes of the wisdom of the Legislature, that has been able to devise no better means for the exclusion of Catholics from the professions and Parliament, than oaths, which, as not being in their conscience binding, might be taken and broken without offence? Yet, we find, and to our infinite loss, that these oaths are to Catholics so formidable, so serious, and so obligatory, that they are content to renounce profit, honor, freedom, and even their country, rather than take them. Surely, if faith is not to ke kept with heretics, there is not a Catholic in the kingdom but might be in Parliament to-morrow, had he no obstacle but the oaths to encounter. If, therefore, three millions of people have, for near a century, chosen to remain in *absolute slavery*, rather than take certain oaths which they thought militated with their consciences, I trust, and believe there is an end of the argument, that oaths to heretics are not binding; an asser-

tion the most artful and wicked that ever was devised, because it perpetually recurs on the unfortunate Catholic, who in vain may protest and swear that it is false, and that he abjures and utterly denies it; still may the good Protestant withhold his belief, for "*faith is not to be kept with heretics.*" I wonder it never occurred to the inventors and supporters of this abominable slander, which at once cuts up by the roots all confidence between man and man, that they might at last convert and convince the Catholics of its truth, or at least drive them to the fallacious principle of not being suspected for nothing; a principle which, if they were once to adopt, where is the Protestant interest of Ireland?

But, to drop this argument, which, indeed, scarcely deserves consideration, let us see the actual state of property, and of the Catholics in Ireland, at this day.

The old families, the original proprietors of the soil, who were dispossessed and ruined by forfeitures, have long since fallen into decay; the representatives of a very great majority of them are, and have been, in penury and ignorance, at the spade and the plough, without deeds or muniments of their estates, for a century back. I do not say, that this is universally the case; but I am sure it is with an infinite majority. In the mean time, while the estates have been in Protestant hands, the Catholics who have made money by trade, the only road to wealth that was not blocked up against them by law, had no way to lay it out but in mortgages, many of them on those very lands. Since the relaxation of the penal laws, many Catholics hold profitable leases under those tenures; many have purchased under the faith of those various acts of attainder and settlement, the repeal of which is assumed as the instant and necessary consequence of admitting Catholics to the rights of citizens. Is it to be thought that the wealthy and respectable part of the Catholics would promote or permit the unspeakable confusion in property, that would result from such a measure as is imputed to them; and this from no motive, but an abstract love of mere justice, operating against their own obvious interest, and against a known law of the land, which says, that sixty years' possession, however acquired, is a good foundation of property against all mankind? I hope it will not be asserted, that it would be the wish of the Catholics utterly to subvert all law;

and, in the very worst event, if they were mad and wicked enough to frame the wish, they could not have the power. The wealthy and moderate party of their own persuasion, with the whole Protestant interest, would form a barrier against invasion of property, strong and solid enough to satisfy and remove the doubts of the wise, the apprehensions of the cautious, the fears of the cowardly, every thing but the intolerance of the Protestant bigot, and the affected terror and real corruption of the English partizan, who would see in the cordial union, and consolidated strength of Ireland, the downfall of his hopes, and the ruin of the profligate market of his vote and his interest.

But it will be said that the Catholics are ignorant, and, therefore, incapable of liberty; and I have heard men, of more imagination than judgment, make a flourishing declamation on the danger of blinding them, by suddenly pouring a flood of light on their eyes, which, for a century, have been buried in darkness. To the poetry of this I make no objection, but what is the common sense or justice of the argument? We plunge them by law, and continue them by statute, in gross ignorance, and then we make the incapacity we have created an argument for their exclusion from the common rights of man! We plead our crime in justification of itself. If ignorance be their condemnation, what has made them ignorant? Not the hand of Nature: for I presume they are born with capacities pretty much like other men. It is the iniquitous and cruel injustice of Protestant bigotry, that has made them ignorant; they are excluded by law from the possibility of education; for I will not call the liberal connivance of the heads of our University, who suffer, perhaps by a strain on their strict duty, a few to smuggle a little of that learning, which is contraband to an Irish Papist, I will not, I say, allow that to be such an education as every Irishman has a right to demand. They cannot obtain degrees; those are paled in from them by oaths, *those oaths of which they are so regardless*, and, therefore, we find they do not enter our University. If Irish Catholics be bigots to their religion; if that bigotry which makes them dangerous, results from ignorance, surely it is the duty of a conscientious Legislature to labor, by every means, to remove the cause, and the effect will, of itself, cease. But it is not the policy of their oppressors to part with an argument, of which they make so excellent use; and, therefore,

it is, that the Irish Catholic clergy are driven into foreign countries, to pick up as they may, a wretched, rambling kind of institution, that deserves not the name of education. Can it be wondered, if the flock be not well taught by such pastors? What can they learn, when thus exiled from their native country, but foreign habits and foreign prejudices? What love can they feel for that constitution, what respect can they preach for those laws, which have driven them forth as vagabonds over Europe? Will any Catholic gentleman submit to this? No! And what follows? That which daily experience shows to be one of the heavy misfortunes of Ireland, the consciences, the morals, and the religion of the bulk of the nation, are in the hands of men of low birth, low feelings, low habits, and no education. But, surely, the wretched Priest, and his still more miserable flock, are not to be punished for the crime of ignorance, with which, as a pestilence, they have been visited by the unmitigable rage of Protestant persecution. Give them education, open their eyes, shew them what is law, in some other form than that of a penal statute; give them franchise, as you have already, in a certain degree, given them property; let them be citizens, let them be *men*.

But, they are not prepared for liberty! What do we mean by *prepared for liberty?* Was the Polish nation prepared for liberty, when it was planted in one day? Were the French prepared for liberty? Yes, I shall be told, the gentry were; and, I answer, so are the Catholic gentlemen of Ireland. The peasantry of all countries are alike, with an exception in favor of England, and that exception springing from liberty; they will follow their leaders: but I say, the Catholic gentlemen of Ireland have had advantages of information far beyond either the Poles or the French, because they have lived in its neighborhood, and seen that in practice, which the others knew but in speculation. Had Mirabeau waited to prepare his countrymen, he and they would have been slaves to this hour, and the Bastile had still hung over the ill-fated city of Paris. Is liberty a disease, for which we are to be prepared as for inoculation? If so, and if fasting and 'abstinence and long suffering be preparation, there are no men under Heaven better prepared than the Catholics of Ireland.

But can we believe that our wise and benevolent Creator would constitute us so, that it would require a long institution

to *prepare* us for that blessing, without which existence is but a a burthen?

Do we prepare our sons to view the light of Heaven, to breathe the air, to tread the earth?

Liberty is the vital principle of man: he that is prepared to live is prepared for freedom.

Whatever is essential to the happy existence of his creatures, God has not willed should be difficult, or complex, or doubtful in its preparation. Plant, then, with a righteous confidence in His goodness, the vigorous shoot of liberty in the land, and doubt not but it shall strike root, and flourish and spread, until the whole people shall repose beneath its shade in peace and happiness and glory.

But it is objected that certain tenets expressive of unconstitutional submission to their Holy Father, the Pope, in temporal as well as spiritual matters, are sufficient ground for excluding the Roman Catholics from their rights. "If this were so, it were a grievous fault," and, I may add, "grievously has Ireland answered it." But whatever truth there might have been in such an accusation in the dark ages of superstition, when, by the bye, Ireland did but share the blame with England and all Europe; yet now, in the days of illumination, at the close of the eighteenth century, such an opinion is too monstrous to obtain a moment's serious belief, unless with such as were determined to believe every thing which squared with their interested views. The best answer to such a calumny, if indeed it deserves any, is the conduct of the Catholics of England at this day, and their solemn declaration, signed by their Gentry, their Clergy, and their Peers, sanctified besides by the unanimous decisions of seven of the first Catholic Universities in Europe, including those of Salamanca, of Valladolid, of Doway, and the Sorbonne;* wherein they concur in asserting that neither the Pope and Cardinals, nor even a General Council, have the smallest pretension to interfere between prince and subject, as to allegiance or temporal matters. And I hope, as these opinions are solemnly given from Catholics to Catholics, they may have the fortune to escape the old and wicked censure, that "*faith is not to be kept with heretics.*"

It is not six months since the Pope was publicly burned in

* See Lord Petre's letter to the Bishop of St. David's.

effigy at Paris, the capital of that Monarch who is styled the eldest son of the Church. Yet the time has been when Philip of France thought he had a good title to the Crown of England, from the donation of the Holy Father: the fallacy lies in supposing that what was once true in politics, is always true. I do believe the Pope has now more power in Ireland than in some Catholic countries, or than he perhaps ought to have. But I confess I look on his power with little apprehension, because I cannot see to what evil purpose it could be exerted; and with the less apprehension, as every liberal extension of property or franchise to Catholics will tend to diminish it. Persecution will keep alive the foolish bigotry and superstition of any sect, as the experience of five thousand years has demonstrated. Persecution bound the Irish Papist to his Priest, and the Priest to the Pope; the bond of union is drawn tighter by oppression; relaxation will undo it. The emancipated and liberal Irishman, like the emancipated and liberal Frenchman, may go to mass, may tell his beads, or sprinkle his mistress with holy water; but neither the one nor the other will attend to the rusty and extinguished thunderbolts of the Vatican, or the idle anathemas, which, indeed, his Holiness is now-a-days too prudent and cautious to issue.

I come now to an old and hackneyed argument against Irish Catholics, that they are Jacobites, and wish to bring in the Pretender. To this I have an hundred answers, but with fair reasoners, it is probable that the first may be sufficient. I say the man is dead; there is no Pretender: his brother, who survives him, is, in religion, a Cardinal, a Popish Clergyman; and what is some additional ground to think he may not have lawful, or indeed any issue, is, that he is above sixty years of age. If, however, any strenuous Protestant is dissatisfied with this answer, as inconclusive, let him state his objections, and I shall, perhaps, in the tenth edition of my book, set myself to remove them. In the mean time let him consider that, since the accession of the House of Brunswick, there have been two bloody rebellions on behalf of the Stuart family in England, but not one sword or trigger drawn in the cause in Ireland.

Another argument that has been often successfully used is this: If the Catholics are admitted to franchise, they will get the upper hand, and attach themselves to France, *for Ireland is unable to exist as an independent State!* But France is a Po-

pish country, and ruled by an absolute Monarch, whose will is the law; therefore, it is better to remain in a state of qualified freedom, though it be not complete, under the protection of England, than sink into a province to France; *for to one or the other you must be content to be subject.*

There is no one position, moral, physical, or political, that I hear with such extreme exacerbation of mind, as this which denies to my country the possibility of independent existence: It is not, however, my plan here to examine that question. I trust, whenever the necessity does arise, as at some time it infallibly must, it will be found that we are as competent to our own Government, regulation, *and defence*, as any state in Europe. Till the emergency does occur, it will but exasperate and inflame the minds of men, to investigate and demonstrate the infinite resources and provocations to independence, which every hour brings forth in Ireland. I shall, therefore, here content myself with protesting, on behalf of my country, against the position, as an infamous falsehood, insulting to her pride, and derogatory to her honor; and I little doubt, if occasion should arise, but that I shall be able to prove it so.

To the argument founded on this spiritless and pitiful position, time has given an answer, by bringing forth that stupendous event, the Revolution in France, an event which I do but name, for who is he that can praise it as it merits? Where is the dread now of absolute power, or the arbitrary nod of the monarch in France? Where is the intolerance of Popish bigotry? The rights of man are at least as well understood there as here, and somewhat better practised. Their wise and venerable National Assembly, representatives, not of their constituents merely, but of man, whose nature they have exalted beyond the limits that even Providence seemed to have bounded it by, have, with that disinterested attention to the true welfare of their species, which has marked and dignified all their proceedings, renounced the idea of conquest, and engraven that renunciation on the altar, in the temple of their liberty: In that Assembly, Protestants sit indiscriminately with Catholics. But I lose time in dwelling on circumstances, the mention of which at once supersedes the necessity of argument.

I come now to a very serious argument. If you admit Catholics to vote, you must admit them to the House, and then you

will have a Catholic Parliament. To this there are many answers: In the first place, it is incumbent on their opponents to show the mischief resulting from even a Catholic Parliament. There has been so bold a spirit, so guarded a wisdom, so pure a patriotism, exerted by a Parliament of Catholics in this kingdom, as the experience of modern Protestant Parliaments can give us no conception of. Have we ever read, or have we forgotton the manifesto of the Catholic Parliament held at Trim, in 1642? Let it be compared with our own declarations in 1782, and Catholics may well, with a generous confidence, stand the comparison.

But, it will be said, that the last Catholic Parliament which we saw, set itself from the post, to resume the forfeited lands, and repeal the act of settlement. That Parliament was summoned by King James II. at a time when his Protestant subjects had expelled him from his throne and kingdom. The Irish Catholics, with a generous though misplaced loyalty, and with that ardent zeal which has, on a thousand occasions, outrun their judgment, regarded their Protestant brethren, not merely as sectaries and schismatics, but as rebels to their lawful prince, whom it was their duty, as well as, perhaps, their inclination, to punish by rigid confiscation. The forfeitures and transfer of property were then recent, most of them within forty years. Many of the individuals who had been actually dispossessed, must have been living; the sons of many more; besides, it was a sudden and unhoped for restoration of power to men, whom it had been the policy of Protestant ascendency for 150 years to depress, and this restoration accomplished, not merely without the assistance, but absolutely against the consent of the Protestants of Ireland. Is it to be wondered at, under such circumstances, if the first exertions of that power were guided rather by resentment and passion, than reason? Is Catholicity to blame, or human nature? But see how different every thing is at this day! Most of the ancient Irish families are extinct. In the minds of the few remaining, one hundred and ten years of peace have cooled all resentment; to the possessions of their ancestors, the law has barred their title; and it was law before the Revolution. Their civil rights will be not extorted, but restored; not wrung by fortuitous violence, but imparted with benevolent justice. Their restoration to the rank of man will

be a work of peaceful contract, not of implacable war with their Protestant brethren.

But if all barriers between the two religions were beaten down, so far as civil matters are concerned, if the odious distinction of Protestant and Presbyterian and Catholic were abolished, and the three great sects blended together, under the common and sacred title of Irishman, what interest could a Catholic member of Parliament have, distinct from his Protestant brother sitting on the same bench, exercising the same function, bound by the same ties? Would liberty be less dear to him, justice less sacred, property less valuable, infamy less dreadful? If the House of Commons were to be even wholly Catholic, still the other estates of the realm, the Peers and the King, would sufficiently preserve the balance. I have supposed in this argument, what I peremptorily refuse to admit, that the whole House of Commons must be Catholic, and that they would of necessity follow such measures as would be prejudicial to the Protestant interest. But the fact is, that when we consider the great disproportion of property, or, in other words, power, in favor of the Protestants, added to the weight and influence of Government, there can be little fear of a majority of Catholic members existing in Parliament; and we know, by historical experience, that when the House was open to both religions indifferently, no such majority existed, though in times when Catholicity flourished, and the Protestant interest was feeble, comparatively, to what we see at this day.

If, however, there be serious grounds for dreading a majority of Catholics, they may be removed by a very obvious mode; extend the elective franchise to such Catholics only as have a freehold of 10*l.* by the year; and, on the other hand, strike off that disgrace to our Constitution and our country, the wretched tribe of forty shilling freeholders, whom we see driven to their octennial market, by their landlords, as much their property as the sheep or the bullocks which they brand with their names. Thus will you at one stroke purge yourselves of the gross and feculent mass which contaminates the Protestant interest, and restore their natural and just weight to the sound and respectable part of the Catholic community, without throwing into their hands so much power as might enable them to dictate the law; but I again and again protest, that I conceive there is not

a shadow of ground for such apprehension; but other men may be more cautious than I, and I would wish to obviate and satisfy the apprehensions of the most timid.

For my own part, I see Protestantism is no guard against corruption; I see the most profligate venality, the most shameless and avowed prostitution of principle go forward, year after year, in assemblies, where no Catholic can by law appear: I see the people plundered and despised, powerless and ridiculous, held in contempt and defiance, and, with such a prospect before my eyes, I for one, feel little dread at the thoughts of change, where no change can easily be for the worse. Religion has, at this day, little influence on politics; and when I contrast the national assembly of Frenchmen and Catholics, with other great bodies which I could name, I confess, I feel little propensity to boast that I have the honor to be an Irishman and a Protestant.

I have now examined such arguments as are most generally used to gloss over that monstrous injustice which has held for a century three millions of my countrymen in ignorance and bondage. I have endeavored to give them such answers, as a very plain understanding could furnish; and I have a confidence that my attempt is but a precursor of many efforts, more worthy of the merits of the cause. The dark cloud which has so long enveloped the Irish Catholic with hopeless misery, at length begins to break, and the sun of liberty may once more illuminate his mind, and elevate his heart.

I have hitherto considered the case of the Catholics in the view of expediency, and, as with reference to Protestants, I have done so, because I confess I was afraid of the lengths to which reason would inevitably lead me, if I were to take it up as a question of mere right, and with reference to the feelings of the Catholics themselves. They have remained now for above a century in slavery; they may have lost the wish for freedom; and, at any rate, I am not very sure that the man is their friend, who points out to them their misery and their degradation, at a time when it is not physically certain that their complete emancipation shall immediately follow. Perhaps even this feeble attempt on their behalf, may prejudice the cause which it is meant to defend. If it should be so, I may lament; but I shall never wish to recall it.

What answer could we make to the Catholics of Ireland, if they were to rise, and, with one voice, demand their rights as citizens and as men? What reply justifiable to God and to our conscience? None. We prate and babble, and write books, and publish them, filled with sentiments of freedom, and abhorrence of tyranny, and lofty praises of *the Rights of Man!* Yet we are content to hold three millions of our fellow creatures and fellow subjects, in degradation and infamy and contempt, or, to sum up all in one word, in *slavery!*

On what chapter of the *Rights of Man* do we ground our title to liberty, in the moment that we are rivetting the fetters of the wretched Roman Catholics of Ireland? Shall they not say to us, "Are we not men, as ye are, stamped with the image of our Maker, walking erect, beholding the same light, breathing the same air as Protestants. Hath not a Catholic hands; hath not a Catholic eyes, dimensions, organs, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt by the same weapons, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same summer and winter, as a Protestant is? If ye prick us, do we not bleed? If ye tickle us, do we not laugh? If ye poison us, do we not die? And if ye injure us, *shall we not revenge?* Hath a Catholic the mark of the beast in his forehead, that he should wander over his native soil, like the accursed Cain, with his hand against every man, and every man's hand against him? God Almighty, in his just anger, visits the sins of the fathers, upon the children, not beyond the third or fourth generation, even of those that hate him; and will nothing short of our eternal slavery satisfy the unmitigable rage of Protestant oppression? How have *we* offended? The offence of our ancestors, was their property and their power; we have neither; they are long since sacrificed, and you are in undisputed possession of the spoil. Do not then grudge us existence, or that for which alone man should exist—liberty. Say not that we are unprepared; liberty prepares herself: Say not that we are ignorant, lest ye judge yourselves. Why are we so? Enough has been done and suffered by us, to satisfy not only justice and law, but cowardice, malice, and revenge; it is time our persecution should cease. The nations of Europe are vindicating themselves into freedom; ye talk about it yourselves, and do ye think that we will be left behind? If you will join us, we are ready to embrace you; if you will not, shame and discomfiture await

you. For us, whether supported or not, we are prepared for either event. If freedom comes, we will clasp her to our hearts, and surrender her but with our last breath; if slavery is still to be our portion, we have learned, by bitter experience, to endure; and to that righteous and just God, who has created and preserves us, we commit our cause, nothing doubting, but in the fullness of his good time, that he will manifest his glorious mercies, even unto us; though for wise purposes, he may think fit to continue us a little longer under the rod of our oppressors, the ministers of his wrath."

If such an appeal were made, *what should we answer?* Let him that can, devise a reply; I know of none.

The argument now stands thus: To oppose the unconstitutional weight of Government, subject as that Government is to the still more unconstitutional and unjust bias of English influence, it is absolutely necessary that the weight of the people's scale should be increased. This object can only be attained by a reform in Parliament, and no reform is practicable, that shall not include the Catholics. These three steps are inseparably connected, and let not any man deceive himself, by supposing the first attainable without the second, or either without the third. Is the present Government of Ireland such an one as ought to be opposed? Every good Irishman will answer, Yes! Have we not sufficient experience, how fruitless all opposition is on the present system? The people are divided; each party afraid and jealous of the other; they have only the justice of their cause to support them, and that plea grievously weakened by the acknowledged exclusion of three-fourths of the nation from their rights as men. Government, *a foreign Government*, is a small, but a disciplined and compact body, with the sword, the purse, and the honors of Ireland at their disposal. It is easy to see the event of such an opposition to such an Administration. It follows, that, to oppose it with success, the people must change their plan.

Do we not see the conduct of Government at this hour, and shall we not learn wisdom, even from our enemies? They know that the Catholics hold the balance between them and that fraction of the nation, which we choose to dignify with the name of *the People;* and, therefore, they court the Catholics. If they secure them, I should be glad to know what they have

to fear with the immense power and influence attached to office, with the command of the treasury, and with the whole Catholic party, three-fourths of the kingdom, attached by gratitude to them, and alienated by repeated suspicion, and unremitting ill usage from their enemies.

In a word, the alternative is, on the one hand, reform and the Catholics, justice and liberty; on the other, an unconditional submission to the present, and every future Administration, who may think proper to follow their steps, and who may indulge with ease and safety their propensity to peculation and spoil and insult, while the people remain timid and divided. Between these you must choose, and choose immediately, and that choice may be final.

If the whole body of the people unite with cordial sincerity, and demand a general reform in Parliament, which shall include restitution of the elective franchise to the Catholics, we shall then, and not otherwise, have an honest and independent representation of the people; we shall have a barrier of strength sufficient to defy the utmost efforts of the most profligate and powerful English Administration; we shall be enabled to avail ourselves of the infinite advantages with which Providence has endowed our country; corruption shall be annihilated, Government shall become honest per force, and thereby recover at least some of that respectability which a long course of political depravity has exhausted. In a word, we shall recover our rank, and become a nation in something beside the name.

If, on the other hand, we think reform too dear, when purchased by justice; if we are still illiberal and blind bigots, who deny that civil liberty can exist out of the pale of Protestantism, if we withhold the sacred cup of *Liberty* from our Catholic brother, and repel him from the communion of our natural rights, let us at least be consistent, and cease to murmur at the oppression of the Government which grinds us; let us bear, if we can, without wincing, the whips and goads of our own tyrants, with the consoling reflection, that we can act the tyrant in our turn, and gall the wretched slaves below us; let Administration proceed to play upon the terrors of the Protestants, the hopes of the Catholics, and balancing the one party by the other, plunder and laugh at, and defy both; let English influence meet and check our rising commerce at every

turn; let us remain obscure and wretched, and unknown in Europe; let the bulk of the people continue barbarians, in hopeless and incurable ignorance, and wretchedness and want. All is well, so long as we can prevent the Catholics from rising to a rank in society with ourselves; we will, in the spirit of the envious man in the fable, bear to lose one of our eyes, so that our neighbor may lose both, and grope about in utter darkness.

But I will hope better things. The example of America, of Poland, and, above all, of France, cannot, on the minds of liberal men, but force conviction. In France, 200,000 Catholics deputed a Protestant, St. Etienne, to the National Assembly, as their representative, with orders to procure, what has since been accomplished, an abolition of all civil distinctions, which were founded merely on religious opinions. In America, the Catholic and Protestant sit equally in Congress, without any contention arising, other than who shall serve his country best: So may it be in Ireland! So will it be, if men are sincere in their wishes for her prosperity and future elevation. Let them but consider what union has done in small states, what discord in great ones. Let them look to their Government; let them look to their fellow slaves, who, by coalition with them, may rise to be their fellow-citizens, and form a new order in their society, a new era in their history. Let them once cry *Reform and the Catholics*, and Ireland is free, independent, and happy.

A NORTHERN WHIG.

August 1, 1791.

DECLARATION AND RESOLUTIONS

OF THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN OF BELFAST.

IN the present great era of reform, when unjust Governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms, against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far only obligatory as it protects their rights and promotes their welfare: We think it our duty, as Irishmen, to come forward, and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what we know to be its effectual remedy.

WE HAVE NO NATIONAL GOVERNMENT; we are ruled by Englishmen, and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the interest of another country, whose instrument is corruption, and whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as means to seduce and to subdue the honesty and the spirit of her representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power, acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with effect solely by *unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people;* qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally, and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the prosperity and freedom of Ireland, AN EQUAL REPRESENTATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE IN PARLIAMENT.

We do not here mention as grievances, the rejection of a place-bill, of a pension-bill, of a responsibility-bill, the sale of Peerages in one House, the corruption publicly avowed in the other, nor the notorious infamy of borough traffic between both; not

that we are insensible of their enormity, but that we consider them as but symptoms of that mortal disease which corrodes the vitals of our Constitution, and leaves to the people, in their own Government, but the shadow of a name.

Impressed with these sentiments, we have agreed to form an association, to be called "THE SOCIETY OF UNITED IRISHMEN:" And we do pledge ourselves to our country, and mutually to each other, that we will steadily support, and endeavor, by all due means, to carry into effect, the following resolutions:

First, Resolved, That the weight of English influence in the Government of this country is so great, as to require a cordial union among ALL THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND, to maintain that balance which is essential to the preservation of our liberties, and the extension of our commerce.

Second, That the sole constitutional mode by which this influence can be opposed, is by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament.

Third, That no reform is practicable, efficacious, or just, which shall not include *Irishmen* of every religious persuasion.

Satisfied, as we are, that the intestine divisions among Irishmen have too often given encouragement and impunity to profligate, audacious, and corrupt Administrations, in measures which, but for these divisions, they durst not have attempted; we submit our resolutions to the nation, as the basis of our political faith.

We have gone to what we conceive to be the root of the evil; we have stated what we conceive to be the remedy. With a Parliament thus reformed, every thing is easy; without it, nothing can be done: and we do call on and most earnestly exhort our countrymen in general to follow our example, and to form similar societies in every quarter of the kingdom, for the promotion of constitutional knowledge, the abolition of bigotry in religion and politics, and the equal distribution of the rights of man through all sects and denominations of Irishmen. The people, when thus collected, will feel their own weight, and secure that power which theory has already admitted as their portion, and to which, if they be not aroused by their present provocations to vindicate it, they deserve to forfeit their pretensions FOR EVER.

Signed by order of the Society of United Irishmen of Belfast.

ROBERT SIMMS, *Secretary.*

October, 1791.

To the Manufacturers of Dublin.

DEAR COUNTRYMEN: I learn by the newspapers that we are going to war with France, and I see recruiting parties beating up for volunteers in all parts of the city, from which I conclude that the newspapers are right, and that we are to have a war in downright earnest. I suppose the King, God bless him, and the great people about him, have good reasons for what they are doing, which we know nothing about; but this I am sure of, that they ought to be very good reasons indeed that should make us go to war just now. Battles and victories are fine things to read and hear tell of, and, for my own part, I like stories of that kind as well as another, but I never could learn what good came to the *poor people* by a battle or a victory. What did we get by all our battles last war, except an addition to the weight of our taxes, that were heavy enough, God knows, before? So that our whiskey and our tobacco, and the tea and sugar for our wives, are twice as dear as they used to be, and if we are to have another war, the Lord knows when it will stop, or how a poor man, like one of us, will be able to keep his family at all.

I know very well that the Irish are a brave fighting people, and will not readily listen to any one that recommends peace to them, when our neighbors are at war; nay, I feel that I should myself be ready enough to leave my loom (for I am but a poor weaver in the Liberty) and take a firelock on my shoulder in any good cause for my king and country. But I remember too well the miseries which we all suffered in the American war, not to desire my countrymen to stop and think, and not to run into the battle, hand over head, as they are too apt to do on every occasion; let them consider what a check it will give to all our manufactures, and what a brain blow it will be to our infant commerce; how many of our most industrious people it will drive to idleness and want and beggary; how much of our best blood it will spill; and how little of our little wealth it will leave with us; and then, perhaps, they will begin to ask what is all this for? and what are we the better of all these battles and victories?

We are now going to war with France; very well; now the first question I would ask is, what quarrel have *we* with France? what did she ever do to us, or we to her? "*Why the French cut off the King's head?*" That to be sure is very shocking and barbarous, and I for one am heartily sorry for it; but will our going to war put it on again? or what right have we to meddle in their disputes, while they let us alone? I remember to have read that the English cut off King Charles's head just as the French did with their King, but I do not find that any nation in Europe was so foolish as to go to war with them on that score. What was Ireland the better of the King of France when he was alive, or what is she the worse of him, now that he is dead? For my part I think it is quite enough if we continue, as we are, good and loyal subjects to his Majesty George the III. without running headlong into a war, to the utter ruin of manufactures and our commerce, for no better than that the French choose one form of Government, and we live under another—and this brings me to a second reason that I have heard for our going to war, that the French are "*republicans and levellers.*"

I am sure a great many of us make use of those words that do not know the meaning of them; but suppose that they are republicans and levellers, and suppose that these words mean every thing that is wicked and abominable, still, I say, what is that to us? If a Republic be a bad form of Government, in God's name let them have it, and punish themselves; if it be a good form, I do not know what right we have to hinder them of it.

I will now endeavor to show you what this war will do to every one of us. In the first place, the English, who have brought us into this scrape, will lose one of their best customers the French, and they will likewise lose the German and Dutch markets in a great degree, from the troubles in Holland, the danger of privateers, and the high rates of insurance; they will, therefore, throw all the goods they can manufacture into this country, as you know they always do, and from their great capitals they can afford to sell at very little profit, and to lie a great while out of their money, which we cannot do; so that they will beat you fairly out of your own market: for it cannot be expected that a shop-keeper in Francis-street, or the Quay, will come to deal with one of us, who can give him but six

months' credit, while he can get the same goods at a lower rate, and at twelve and eighteen months, or even two years' credit, which the Englishman will give him rather than lose his custom; and whenever this happens, as it certainly will happen if the war goes on, (and indeed the English riders are beginning already to swarm among us, looking for orders) God only knows to what misery we shall be reduced. I remember, in the American war, it was with great difficulty that I preserved myself and my family from utterly starving; and crowds of my brethren, still more poor and wretched than myself, were brought so low as to go in droves a begging about the streets, or were fed, like hounds, at public messes, which were got for them through charity. The great people who go to war never think of these things; but, for my part, when we are all turned out of work, and ragged and hungry, I do not see how we are to feed and clothe ourselves and our little families. I am sure it is not the "*balance of power*," and the "*glory of the British flag*," and a hundred other fine things that I see in speeches in the newspapers, that will put a single rag on our backs, or a half-penny roll in our mouths; so that, after all, we may find out, by woful experience, and the loss of our trade, that it had been better to have let the French alone to settle their own disputes among themselves, and for us, in the mean time, to stick to our looms and our jennies, and go on quietly selling our cloths and our calicoes.

Besides, this war is worse for us poor manufacturers than any that ever we remember. Formerly, to be sure, when a war broke out, and trade was dead, we could take a turn aboard a privateer or man of war for a year or two, and then we had a chance of picking up a little prize money, as many among us have done; but now there is no chance of that, for the French have no merchantmen at sea, and all the ships they have are turned into privateers, and we all know well enough there is nothing to be got by them but hard knocks. If it was a Spanish war, indeed, a man would have some chance among the dollars and galloons, but here there is no such thing—all wooden legs and no gold chains.

And now my dear countrymen and fellow-sufferers, what are we all to do? By the middle of summer, trade will be stopped here, and, as to going to England, that will not answer, for she

will have lost almost all her customers, except this poor country, so that there will be hands enough to work up her goods without our assistance. We must either go begging once more in shoals about the streets, or go to sea without hopes of prize money, or list for soldiers, which God knows is a poor life, and, in that case, who is to take care of our families?

Now suppose the French are beaten, what shall we get to make us amends for all this misery? Nothing! But suppose, on the other side, Dumourier, or whatever his name is, the French General, wins the battle, what becomes of the war then? At any rate it is no matter to us, for let who will get the battle, the poor are sure to suffer all the hardship; God forgive the great people, whoever they are, that advised our good King to this war; there is not one of them will lose an hour's sleep or a meal's meat by it; but it is not so with us; we are hard set enough to live already, and a month's idleness sends us all starving. I wish before they were so brave in declaring this war, that they had taken a walk through the Liberty and other places that I could bring them to; but God help the poor, for they are able to help nobody, and, therefore, nobody cares for them.

I have a great deal more to say, but neither you can afford time to read, nor I to write a long paper. If I find you like this, you shall hear from me again. In the mean time I am your friend and comrade,

A LIBERTY WEAVER.

Marrow-bone Lane, March, 1793.

A Brief Caution to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

[By a real Friend to the Rights of Mankind.]

My Beloved Brethren: In all the warmth of Christian love and sincere friendship, I call upon your attention to the following brief address:

That our claims to participate in the rights and privileges of liege subjects are justly founded, no one pretends to deny. Peaceable demeanor and long approved loyalty have had a desirable effect, in obtaining a relaxation of the penal laws; and, at the approaching session, I hope and trust we shall gain all that we want.

There is one thing only to prevent it; and against that one thing I wish the more earnestly to caution you, as there is good reason to fear that secret enemies are working hard to defeat our intentions.

Take care, then, let me earnestly entreat, that you do not place too great a reliance on people of other religious persuasions, who offer their advice and assistance unasked. Even if sincere in their professions, it can do you no service; but if deceitful, may do irreparable mischief. Consider whether they be not alike enemies to Protestants and Roman Catholics, whether they are not jealous of the relaxations already obtained, and wish, by misleading you, to prevent your gaining any more.

Remember Lord George Gordon. That mad fanatic showed the rank hatred of his party to the Roman Catholics by fire and massacre. Take care! for there may be Gordons here, who, not less inveterate, though more artful, will, under the mask of friendship, prove themselves as bitter enemies.

"An open foe may prove a curse;
"But a pretended friend is worse."

A Short Answer to a "Brief Caution to the Roman Catholics of Ireland."

[By a Liberty Boy.]

DEAR COUNTRYMEN: I bought last night for a halfpenny, the address to which I mean this as an answer; and though it was printed on coarse paper, it was easy to see that the writer of it was no common hand. He sets out with great *professions* of good will to you and your cause, and when he thinks that he has by this means, got you all on his side, he lets the cat out of the bag, and gives you fair warning to "*take care of the Presbyterians, for, if you do not, your good friends the Government will be very angry with you, and whether you have right on your side or not, if you join those fellows in the North, you shall get no relief at all,*" and so he tells some nonsense about Lord George Gordon, and *concludes.*

Now, my dear countrymen, do not you see the plain English of all this? Long ago, when you and your Protestant brethren were foolishly and wickedly ready to cut each other's throats at

every hand's turn; whenever your Committee applied for relief to the English Government at the Castle, the answer they always got, was, "Gentlemen, *We* love you of all things, and would do any thing to serve you; but we are afraid of those Presbyterians in the North, who would resist you and us with arms in their hands, so we beg you will excuse us." And with this answer (which, by-the-by, was a lie) you were obliged to be, or at least to seem, contented. But now times are well mended with us. The Presbyterians in the North, and particularly in Belfast, which you all know is the life and soul of that quarter, are convinced of the folly and injustice of keeping up old quarrels, and wasting against you the spirit that should be *exerted* against the common enemy, I mean the wicked, bribing, taxing *Administration* of this country. They come forward, like honest and hearty Irishmen, ready to forgive and forget, and they intreat you to do the like; they bind themselves by a solemn promise never to rest until you are put on the same footing in all things, with themselves; and many of the best and bravest and wisest among your people have joined and shaken hands with them, and thousands and tens of thousands more of you will follow them. Now see what Government and their dirty hack writers say. The minute they find that they are beaten out of their old lying excuse about the Presbyterians being your enemies, they change their note, and roar out "take care what you are doing; if you offer to go near those fellows in the North, we are done with you for ever; as you made your bed, you may lie in it, but we wash our hands out of you." Now, my dear countrymen, is there a man among you that does not see through this poor stuff? Government think they have you completely in their hands, and they are determined, if they can, to keep you so: for this bad purpose, they have got some men among you of very high rank, and very low principles, to go about begging your names, if you can write them, and your marks if you cannot, to slavish and shabby addresses to the Castle, throwing yourselves on the mercy of the great people there, and declaring that if you get *ever so little*, you will be very thankful, and if you get *nothing at all*, you will stay as you are, and be very thankful, and such mean trash unworthy any true honest hearted Irishman; but, above all things, abusing your General Committee, and those wise men and *gallant patriots* among you who

have cordially shaken hands with your Protestant countrymen. Now the way that the Castle has got hold of these men, is curious; one of them, who is commonly *reputed a Lord*, knows very well that he has not half so good a claim to the title as my Lord Hackball, and so he wants the King to make him over again, that he may be something or other, for, at present, he is neither fish nor flesh, but a good for nothing kind of a mule between a peer and a commoner. Another is a young gentleman who wants to come to the bar, which, if he can obtain, he does not care a rush if you and your children after you, remain black slaves as you are these ten thousand years to come. And this is the worthy pair who, after endeavoring to blow up your General Committee, and *failing in the attempt*, now go about getting names and marks to their papers, one that he may be called my Lord at the Castle, and the other, that he may wear a big wig and a black gown in the Four-courts.

Now is it worth your while to desert your countrymen, and sell yourselves and your children to eternal slavery, for the sake of propping up two such rotten posts? What will you get by it? Is it any music to you to hear one of these honest gentlement called *my Lord*," and another of them "Counsellor?" Will it put a coat on your poor backs, or a halfpenny roll in your children's bellies? Are two millions and a half of you, wretched as you are, of less value than two corrupt *ambitious* and selfish men? No, my dear countrymen, have no dealings with them; put your trust in your Committee; they are honest men, and never deceived you, because your interest is their interest; do not be led out of your way by great men or their understrappers, who will speak you very fair, till they have gained their dirty ends, and then sell the pass on you. A *great man*, as he is called, very often turns out a great rap, and the greater he is, the less likely he is to take care of you, or your affairs, provided he can carry his own job. But I need say no more on this head, because you are a shrewd knowing people, who see a thing very quick, and it is not very easy to impose on you. The whole truth of the matter is, that Government are frightened out of whatever wits they had, for fear you should unite with your Protestant brethren; and well they may, for they know well enough that whenever that happens, there is an end too at once to their heavy taxing, and their dirty jobbing, and their

sinking the public money in their own pockets, and building fine palaces out of the sweat and blood and bowels of the people, and then setting scoundrels of policemen at their doors to watch them, and making you pay dearly, God knows, for all. All this would be stopped short; whereas now, while you and your Protestant brethren are watching each other like cat and mouse, and wrangling and sparring like fools, they get on fair and easy picking the pockets of both of you, and laughing at you into the bargain.

Now the Castle being so eager to prevent your uniting, is the very best reason why you should do it; and you may take it as a safe rule when they want you to do any thing, to go directly and do what is totally opposite: do you think people at the Castle care about you or your sufferings, where all they can sack and wring out of you, is too little to divide among themselves, and buy votes in Parliament? Be assured, my dear countrymen, and read this part of my paper again and again till you have it by heart, and teach it to your little children, that *"Ireland never will be happy, nor a flourishing country, until you have an honest Government; and that is what you never will have, until we are all united and one people."*

For God's sake and your own sake, open your eyes, and let it not be said that, while you and the Presbyterians were like two mastiffs, worrying each other for a bone, a dirty English cur came in between, and carried it off from both of you.

A LIBERTY BOY.

Crooked Staff, January, 1792.

City and County of Londonderry.

SUMMER ASSIZES, 1792.

Whereas a paper has been circulated through this county, signed "EDWARD BYRNE," purporting to come from a body of men, styling themselves "The Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland."

We, the Grand Jury of the city and county of Londonderry, assembled at an assizes held at Londonderry, on the 30th day of July, 1792, feel it our indispensable duty to express our most decided disapprobation of such a proceeding, and to declare our sentiments thereof by the following resolutions:

Resolved, That, in our apprehension, the Constitution of this Kingdom is unacquainted with any such body of men, as "The Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland."

Resolved, That the meetings and delegations recommended by such Sub-committee, in the abovementioned paper, if adopted, would tend to produce discontent and disorder, more especially as they presume to say, That, by a general union of the Catholics of Ireland, the objects they are looking for MUST be accomplished, as expressed in their letter, "WE SHALL receive it;" and further, that "We have the first authority for asserting, this application will have infinite weight with our gracious Sovereign, and with Parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare, That it is the universal wish of every Catholic in the nation."

Resolved, That the system of union between the clergy and laity, recommended to the people of the Catholic persuasion in the abovementioned paper, insidiously conveys the idea of an hierarchy, which would eventually destroy the Protestant ascendency, the freedom of elective franchise, and the established Constitution of the country. And that we are determined to support, with our lives and fortunes, that happy Constitution, as established at the Revolution of 1688, and to maintain the Protestant ascendency in this Kingdom, against every attempt made to lessen or interfere with it by any body of men, let their union or numbers be what they may.

Resolved, That we love and highly respect our Catholic brethren of this Kingdom, and recommend, that if they mean to

look forward for further favors, it may not be through the medium of committees, or such publications, but from a continuation of the same well-regulated conduct, which has already excited the attention of the legislature in their behalf.

HUGH HILL, Foreman.

John Miller,	*Marcus Gage,*
Hugh Lyle,	*Daniel Patterson,*
William Alexander,	*David Ross,*
John Darcus,	*James Patterson,*
John Spotswood,	*William Lecky,*
Robert Galt,	*J. C. Beresford,*
Samuel Curry,	*John Ferguson,*
John Stirling,	*George Ash,*
William Ross,	*G. L. Cunningham,*
Andrew Knox,	*Alexander Young,*
John Hart,	*Dom. M'Causland.*

To the Grand Jury of the City and County of Londonderry, for the Summer Assizes, 1792.

GENTLEMEN: I have just seen your manifesto against three millions of your countrymen; a composition which does equal honor to your heads and your hearts, and proves you alike acquainted with the principles of liberty and of language. You are legislators, and you are critics, and, in my judgment, just as excellent in one capacity as the other.

You set out with resolving what I, for one, do not mean to controvert, that, "in your apprehension, the Constitution of this Kingdom is unacquainted with any such body of men as the Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland." It is very true; but have you, gentlemen, never heard of bodies of men, unknown and unacknowledged by the Constitution of this Kingdom, to whom, notwithstanding, this Kingdom is indebted for her emancipation? I have heard the volunteers of Ireland spoken of, by infamous tools of an infamous Government, in the very terms which you apply to the Sub-committee of the Catholics, and with much more appearance of reason: yet many of yourselves were volunteers, and sent your delegates, armed, to the capital, to dictate measures to the existing Government of the country, and you did right; you know that there is a degree of oppres-

sion that, while it compels, justifies a transgression of established forms; that degree must justify the Catholics in forming their committees. You will not allow them any share in the framing of the laws, by which their lives and properties are to be influenced; you would put them out of the pale of the constitution, and make them outlaws in their native land; it is their business to obtain their liberty if they can, and how are they attempting this? Not by sending armed men to dictate to the legislature, as you rightly, and, like men eager for freedom, did. No: far otherwise. It is by the formation of a body equally unknown as the volunteers of Ireland, to the principles of the constitution, but with whom they will feel it no dishonor to be associated in that hackneyed censure; and for what purpose? Dutifully, humbly, and *constitutionally* to petition their Sovereign and the Legislature, to be restored to the rank of men, and to the common protection which the law should hold out to all peaceable citizens; to be rescued from contempt and slavery, and the cruel necessity of being obliged to listen, and in silence, to such productions as the manifesto of the Grand Jury of the county of Derry. But, though their committee be unacknowledged by the Constitution, in your apprehension, I hope they are as legal an association as the committee in England for procuring the abolition of the slave trade. Edward Byrne is as good a signature as Granville Sharpe—their motives, their line of conduct, every thing is the same; with this difference, that the friends of the Africans meet the applause of all mankind; the friends of the more miserable Irish slaves have drawn down upon themselves the heavy censure and anathema of the Grand Jury of the county of Derry.

I hope, gentlemen, in your apprehension, that, as men, you will admit it is allowed to the unhappy to complain; and, as politicians, that it is the privilege of the subject, when aggrieved, to petition. The Catholics of Ireland, degraded as they are, are still men, and what is more, they are subjects: three millions of them cannot assemble and state their grievances; they must, therefore, act by substitution; hence arises their committee; certainly no legal corporation, but as certainly no unlawful assembly. They cannot sue or be sued, but they may, and what is more, *they will*, petition the Parliament of Ireland, and they will not be bullied out of that determination by your pom-

pous offers of "your lives and fortunes," on the one hand, no more than they will be duped out of it by your mean and pitiful profession of "love and high respect," on the other.

I have done with your first resolution; I come to your second, when you take the ferula into your hands, and, like good grammarians, as you are, teach the unlettered Catholics at once law and language, the spirit of our constitution and the freedom of our particles.

You say first, that "the meetings recommended by the Sub-committee, will produce discontent;" the contrary is the fact, for the discontent has produced the meetings; as metaphysicians, therefore, you have confounded *cause* and *effect;* see now how you will come off with your grammar. You charge the committee with presuming to say, that, "by a general union of the Catholics of Ireland, the objects they are looking for MUST be accomplished;" and adding, as expressed in their letter, "we shall receive it."

The learned Bishop of London, in a book, which, perhaps, you, gentlemen, have never seen, but which is, notwithstanding, of some authority, has the following passage: "*Will*, in the first person, singular and plural, *promises or threatens;* in the second and third person, only foretells; *shall*, on the contrary, in the first person, *simply foretells;* now, gentlemen, it may be necessary to acquaint you, that *we*, is the first person plural; consequently, the passage in the letter of the committee, which has so piqued your pride, or alarmed your fears, conveys not the meaning which you have extracted from it, but the reverse; it is no menace, it is a simple prophecy. Your criticism reminds me of my countryman, who fell one day into the Thames, and after floundering for some time, as you have done, began to roar out lustily "murder! murder! *I will, I will* be drowned, and nobody SHALL help me!" he, however, was extricated by a waterman. I know not, nor do I care, who may come to the relief of the Grand Jury of the county of Derry.

In your next resolution you have shewed as much knowledge in etymology, as you have already of other sciences: you talk of "an union between clergy and laity," insidiously conveying the idea of an *hierarchy*, which is to overthrow the Protestant ascendency—AN HIERARCHY OF LAITY! Good God, gentlemen! among three-and-twenty of you, was there not one that

had *Greek* enough to keep you out of this gross blunder? It is a figure of speech that would do honor to Mrs. Malaprop herself, who "would never meddle with *simony, fluxions, paradoxes,* nor such inflammatory branches of learning." Perhaps all this may be *Greek* to you, gentlemen of the jury!

I pray you, let your sons turn over their Lexicons before you next meet to draw up manifestoes against the liberty of man. When you talk of their ignorance being a plea for keeping the Catholics in slavery, I presume you speak from the superabundance of your own literary endowments. If, however, liberty is to be measured by learning, I know not whereabouts in the scale we are to look out for the station of the Grand Jury of the county of Derry.

Having established this curious *Lay Hierarchy,* which is, for your comfort, *all one in the Greek,* you express your fears that it may destroy, not only the Protestant ascendency, but, also, the "freedom of the elective franchise." THE FREEDOM OF A FRANCHISE!—'Fore Heaven! as Cassio says, this is a more excellent song than the other, and beats the *Lay Hierarchy* all to nothing! Why, gentlemen, you are the very kings of the dictionary! Our language sinks beneath you; I really do not know whether most to admire, the justice and liberality of your sentiments, or the variegated and beautiful diction in which you have clothed them. With regard to the trash of *lives* and *fortunes,* and our *happy Constitution,* I shall not condescend to notice it: but I confess I am ashamed of the contemptible meanness of your last paragraph, wherein you say, "you love and highly respect your Catholic brethren." Gentlemen, you know it is not true that you love them; it cannot be, you cannot deceive yourselves, you cannot deceive the Catholics. Men who framed such resolutions as yours, the offspring of puzzled heads and contracted hearts, are incapable of feeling a true or genuine affection for their countrymen. It were more for your honor to have been uniform and decided enemies to the Catholics, and to have openly confessed it, than to have attempted to throw over your animosity this pitiful, equivocating, profession of regard. It is an abortive deception, which can excite no emotion, but contempt.

VINDEX.

*** Notwithstanding VINDEX's opinion respecting the gentlemen of the Derry Grand Jury, and his doubts of their being sincere in their professions of regard for the Catholics of Ireland, we will venture to say, they have gone farther in favor of that oppressed body, than any society or class of citizens have yet attempted. They solemnly declare, that they will devote "THEIR LIVES AND FORTUNES" in support of the Constitution, as established at the Revolution of 1688; now, how did the Catholics stand after this Revolution? They enjoyed the ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, and TRIAL BY JURY, the very rights they are now in pursuit of; nor were they deprived of either until long after the death of our great deliverer; so that the twenty-three gentlemen, who have affixed their signatures to the Derry resolutions, stand pledged to the Catholics, and to their country, that they will sacrifice their lives and fortunes, rather than have their brethren, whom they so much love, disappointed in their pursuit; nothing but an overflowing love for the Catholics could have excused this declaration in the gentlemen of Derry; for the fact is, that OUR Constitution, *such as it is*, was not established in 1688; there was not an act passed at that period, either favorable to us as a people, or as an independent nation; it was in 1782 that we obtained, or recovered, what is called our Constitution.

Reply to a pamphlet, entitled "The Protestant Interest in Ireland ascertained." Written by T. W. Tone, but never published.

The present question, with regard to the extension of franchise to the Catholics of Ireland, is of such infinite magnitude and importance, that no man need to apologize for publishing his sentiments. I shall, therefore, take the liberty to submit, without further preface, a few remarks on a late publication, entitled "The Protestant Interest in Ireland ascertained."

Before I proceed to particulars, I must remark, and with great satisfaction, the very different manner in which the author of that work has treated his subject, from those who have embarked on the same side with him. It is no compliment to say that he far exceeds them all in ability and in temper; he writes like a scholar and a gentleman; he neither belies nor abuses the bo-

dy of men whose claims he investigates; neither does he bluster and call upon the Secretary to use the wholesome discipline of the axe and the gibbet on all who differ in opinion from him. He seems to know that, at least in this stage of the business, argument is the only means to coerce opinions; and, indeed, it is a weapon which he exercises with uncommon dexterity; perhaps with more dexterity than a sincere inquirer after truth would wish to exert. He is, for a polemic, in disputes like the present, to a certain degree candid and reasonable; but it will be my task to show that he is far from being as much so as justice to the claims of the Catholics should exact, from one who was not a partizan. Nevertheless, he is an adversary of no vulgar note, and I heartily regret that such acuteness, ingenuity, and eloquence, as he displays, are not employed in a cause more worthy of his talents, the cause of humanity and justice.

I shall follow his own order of argument, for I am not able to devise a better, with such references as will enable our readers to compare and weigh what is said on both sides.

In the very commencement of his work he seems a steady admirer, not merely of established forms, which no wise man will entirely overlook, more than he will invariably adhere to them, but of the state trick and artifice and mystery of Government. He is apprehensive that "universal, unrestricted liberty, toleration, and the rights of man," the short vocabulary of modern political tuition, should shortly be made a part of the common school education, to be learned by our sons with their "*As in præsenti.*" I mention this, not as matter of argument, for it certainly proves nothing, but as a sample of a prejudice against recent opinions, which have, however, received some approbation. In all sciences, the more uncompounded are the elements, the more certain is the process to demonstration. That of Government must have its axioms, and its evidence will not suffer by their being either few or simple. It might, therefore, be doubted, whether a very short and intelligible code of principles of legislation, would be such an innovation on the present institution of our youth, as an honest and careful father would violently dread. But this point I leave to parents and tutors to settle, and hasten to what is more grave and important.

The case of the Catholics is a hard one in many respects, but in none more than in this: that whether they are definite in

their applications or not, they are equally certain of censure and opposition. If they leave their claims open and undefined, then the cry is "What can we offer or grant to men, who will not tell us what they would be at?" If, on the contrary, they are specific, then it is, "What, will you dictate to the legislature the measures which they should adopt? No! had you left it to our benevolence and wisdom, something might have been done, but as it is, you shall have nothing, or what is next to nothing." Thus is that unfortunate sect eternally caught on one or the other horn of the dilemma. It is for the convenience of their present opponent, to take the first; he censures them for the indefinite generality of their claims, and one great object of his book is to collect what he chooses to think the real wishes of the Catholics of Ireland.

Some of them, he remarks, have come forward with an explicit and moderate statement of their views, but these, meaning Lord Kenmare and his adherents, have been disavowed by the majority (not however the most respectable part) of their community, who have declared themselves of principles much less moderate. This dissension, the author insinuates, is nearly conclusive against them; but, nevertheless, he is content to argue the question on its merits; certainly no very great effort of candor, in one who argues so acutely.

It is, however, necessary to remove the impression which the authority, if any, of the names of that noble Lord and his associates may have made, before we proceed farther; and a very few facts will suffice for that purpose. Lord Kenmare, from the first establishment of the General Committee of the Catholics, in 1773, was, until the year 1783, in which Lord Mountjoy made his famous motion to recommend the blessings of peace to the volunteers, paramount in that body. Unluckily, however, for his Lordship's influence, many of the Committee were admitted into various corps throughout the kingdom, and when, under his auspices and engagements to the Castle, a gentleman was found to make a motion that the Catholics should withdraw themselves from their Protestant fellow soldiers and citizens, and ground those arms so gloriously worn, so lately restored after a deprivation of 90 years; the body spurned the idea, and to the great astonishment of that noble Lord, as well as of his employers, he was found, for the first time, after making every

possible exertion, in a minority. This was the commencement of the feud between his Lordship and the Committee; which, after a variety of bickerings, for now ten years, has at length become irreconcileable, and let that country which owes so much to their exertions, judge whether such a commencement is an impeachment of the spirit, wisdom, or temper of that committee. From that day, his Lordship's enmity to those whom he considers, and naturally, as the destroyers of the aristocratic superiority he held so long, and used, I will not say so honorably, has been decided and unremitting. It is not my wish to go at large into a defence of the Committee, as to their dissent from Lord Kenmare, or, to speak more correctly, of his dissent from them. Every man who has seen, as I believe most men have, two papers, (dated 14th, 15th Jan. 1792,) signed Ed. Byrne, and Rd. M'Cormick, published and dispersed by that body, and authenticated by signatures as respectable, though untitled, as his Lordship's, can have no doubt remaining on the propriety of their conduct, and how little attention is to be paid to the dissent of the seceders, whose "*rank and fortune*" appear almost a decisive conclusion against their cause.

In the very threshold of his work, the author of the "*Protestant Interest in Ireland ascertained*," is directly convicted, either of gross ignorance, which is his best excuse, or such wilful misrepresentation as must at once destroy his credit. He states that "the sentiments of the bulk of the people are, as he understands, deposited in the breasts of certain delegates, deputed by the body at large, and forming a kind of club, under the title of the Catholic Society." This being the only body apparently constituted by authority from them, is the only one of whose proceedings we were warranted to take cognizance. The sentiments of this society are to be found in a declaration published by them, and signed by their Secretary, whom he choses to call, in the cant of his party, "one Theobald M'Kenna."

Now, if it were not for the attention which the author pays to the laws of civility, and the general, or at least the apparent air of candor which runs through his work, I should very shortly inform him what I thought of that statement. As it is, I shall only say that whoever was his informant grossly misled him. The Catholic Society is not deputed by the body of the Catholics, nor by any other body: they have no manner of au-

thority from them, nor has the declaration alluded to any other weight than that which truth and justice, when held forth by superior talents, will at all times command.

But, as I am very willing to believe that the author was misled, as I know other honest men have been, I am glad to have an opportunity of explaining to them and the public how the fact really stands, as to this Society and their declaration, which appears to have given such alarm.

The Catholic Society is a voluntary association of gentlemen, which has had existence for about six months. It contains many names of high rank for wealth and ability in that communion, and was founded for the express purpose of removing religious prejudice, and holding forth to their Protestant brethren such information as might tend to obliterate the memory of past dissensions. They are neither deputed nor delegated, nor do they represent any body or description of men whatsoever; they are invested with no powers; they form no part of the Catholic Constitution, if I may so express myself, but are, to all intents and purposes, a mere private club; who, nevertheless, have, like all other clubs, a right to publish their opinions, if they choose to do so, and to be at the expense of it.

But there is another, and a very different body, whom some men, from ignorance, and many more from much worse motives, choose to confound with this club. I mean the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, established for twenty years, a body consisting of their Peers, their Prelates, their landed Gentry, and their Burgesses, who are returned by the body of the people. This is the representative of the will of the Catholics, and for its acts only are they responsible. This is the body which is now humbly and dutifully applying to the Legislature for relief. They are not the authors of the declaration, signed Theobald M'Kenna, with which they have no more concern than any other body of men in the kingdom. In a word, the Catholic Society is no more the General Committee, than the Whig Club is the House of Commons of Ireland, though it may appear that some individuals are members of both societies; and it would be just as reasonable and equitable to make the corresponding bodies mutually responsible in the one case as in the other.

After this statement, which no man can deny to be the truth, it is obvious, that so much of the author's argument as is deduced from the authority of the declaration of the Catholic Society, is extremely weakened, if not entirely destroyed. Admitting what degree of imprudence he may please in that composition, I have only to deny it to be the act of the Catholics, and leave the question so. But, feeling, as I do, the truth and justice of, I may say, every sentiment contained in it, I will not shrink from the investigation; I will suppose it to contain the real opinions and feelings of the Catholics of Ireland, and I will meet the author on the ground which he has himself chosen.

In examining their claims in detail, as contained in the declaration, which I once for all request may be remembered as a mere private act of a club, and no official statement, the author again complains that they are indeterminate; however, he proposes to render them more definite, for which task he is, at least by logical precision, well qualified; and then he gives a copious extract from the paper which he purposes to examine. The first specific objection is, "that the Catholics claim *due* weight for "their property, and *rational* encouragement for their children's "merit, but they do not state what proportion of weight or en- "couragement may appear due or rational," (page 9.) I presume that the words, as used here, signify neither more nor less than that property in the hands of Catholics should have the same weight as in the hands of any other sect in the country, and that merit in their children should meet the same encouragement. Whatever objection these unnatural wishes may lie under with some men, as being imprudent, they certainly are neither vague nor obscure, nor, in my opinion, unjust or unreasonable.

The Catholic Society says, "That they will, at all times, "use all their power and all the influence they possibly can "exert, to procure the removal of their disqualifications, and the "repeal of the laws by which they are aggrieved *as Roman Ca- "tholics*"—which is interpreted by the author to signify that they will endeavor to repeal and remove every law of the land, and every establishment of our constitution, by which they are aggrieved as Roman Catholics, (page 11); to which I shall add, "and not merely as dissenting from the established church," for a reason which shall appear in its place.

The Catholics decline going into what they justly call the disgusting recital of the penal laws which affect them. The author professes to supply this deficiency, and to give, what he calls a cursory, and I will call a very unfair, enumeration of those statutes. He admits, however, that the greatest part of them are become dead letter, that is, in other terms, that they are too unjust and tyrannical to be enforced; this slumber of the penal laws he seems to think might, in its present state, satisfy the doubts and remove the fears of the Catholics. But laws are made, not with a speculation to what men *will* do, but what they *may* do. If these be so vicious in their principle as to supersede their own execution, there is the less effort of magnanimity in the Legislature renouncing what they cannot, consistently with their feelings, enforce. And surely no reason can be alleged for disgracing our statute roll with a number of laws which, even on the confession of the author, constitute "a black and disgusting catalogue of disabilities, which one that had not made them his professional study, would not be easily persuaded could exist"—(page 15.)

The general scope of the "Protestant Interest in Ireland ascertained," going principally to the question of elective franchise, and introducing the other restrictions on Catholics but as incidental matter, obliges me to follow his example. I shall, therefore, make a very few remarks on the penal laws now existing. The selections which I shall make from that code are, I believe, unique in the science of Legislature; a very curious little book might be formed on the plan, and should be entitled "The Modern Mirror, or The Beauties of Irish Jurisprudence."

The author, in a summary way, contents himself with telling his readers that one of the Papist disabilities is to be found in the statute 7 William III, chap. 4, whereby they are prohibited from sending their children abroad for education, or money for that purpose. This is true, so far as it goes. But, by what penalties are they prohibited? As the author has not found it convenient to inform us, I shall take the liberty to supply the deficiency.

The *sender* of any child to a foreign seminary, for the purpose of being therein educated in the Popish religion, is subjected by this law to the moderate penalty of a kind of perpetual and irreversible outlawry; that is, every such person shall, on

conviction, be disabled to sue in law or in equity, to be guardian, executor, or administrator, to take any legacy or deed of gift, or bear any office, and shall forfeit goods and chattels for ever, and lands for life. It is a maxim, at least of natural justice, that the proof in all cases shall be strict, in proportion to the magnitude of the offence and weight of the penalty. Is it so here? Far from it. Any justice of peace may, on information that a child has been thus sent abroad, summon before him all persons charged, *or suspected*, to have been concerned therein, whom he shall examine, *without oath*, and any other persons, *on oath*, and if, to his wisdom, it shall appear probable that this act has been transgressed, he shall bind over the parties and witnesses, in any sum not less than £200, to appear at the next quarter session; and, if before that tribunal it shall appear *probable* that the sending charged was contrary to this act, the person accused shall be compelled to *prove a negative*, or, failing therein, shall incur the pains and penalties, the forfeiture being equally divided between the Crown and the informer.

But this is not all. What I have stated affects the party sending, who, being generally of mature age, and on the spot, may, if he can, make out a defence. But what becomes of the unfortunate infant who is sent. In the first place, he is convicted where he can make no defence, by the conviction of the person sending, which concludes him to all intents. He becomes at once subject to the pains and penalties of the act. It is vain to allege his tender years, the want of consent, the impossibility of resistance to the will of a parent or guardian. That humane and paternal regard which our laws show in all cases to minors, is dead to him. He is outlawed by a process to which he is no party, and where he can make no defence. There is, however, one chance yet for the reversal of his attainder. If he lives to the age of twenty-one years, and shall be able on his return to *prove a negative*, as in the former case, that is, to show that he was not sent contrary to the act, he shall be released from all the penalties, *save and except the whole of his goods and chattels, and all the profits of his lands, from the time of his being sent to the day of his acquittal.* So that this moderate penalty is annexed in the case of an infant, not to any crime or delinquency on his part, but as a punishment for the misfortune of having incurred an *unjust and unfounded suspicion*, proved to be unjust

and unfounded, by the most difficult of all process, and by a person encountering all possible hardships, in that the responsibility is annexed, not to his own acts, which are within his power and knowledge, but to the acts of others. And this act is stated in the pamphlet in *sixteen words*.

Papists, says the author, (page 12) are prohibited from keeping arms, and a power is given to search for them, by the 7th Will. III, cap. 5; and this is confirmed by the subsequent act, 3d Geo. II, cap. 6. To this he will give me leave to add a very curious act which he has omitted, though it was passed within those sixteen years, I mean the 15th or 16th of George III, cap. 21, sec. 15, which runs as follows:

"Sec. 15. One or more justice, or justices of the peace, and "all sheriffs and chief magistrates of cities and towns, corpo- "rate, within their respective jurisdictions, may, from time to "time, as well *by night* as by day, search for, and seize, all "arms and ammunition belonging to any Papist, not licensed "to keep the same, or in the hands of any person in trust for a "Papist, and for that purpose enter any dwelling house, out- "house, office, field, or other place belonging to a Papist, or to "any other person, where such magistrate has reasonable cause "to suspect any such arms or ammunition shall be concealed, "and, on *suspicion*, after search, may summon and examine, on "oath, the person suspected of such concealment. Sec. 16. "Provided, That no person shall be convicted, or incur any "penalty, for any offence, upon any confession or discovery he, "or she, shall make, on being examined on oath, as aforesaid, "nor shall any such examination be given in evidence against "the person so examined, unless such person shall be indicted "for having committed wilful perjury on such examination. "Sec. 17. Papists refusing to deliver or declare such arms as "they, or any with their privity have, or hindering the deli- "very, or refusing discovery on oath, or without cause neglect- "ing to appear on summons, to be examined before a magis- "trate concerning the same, shall, on conviction, be punished "by fine and imprisonment, or such corporeal punishment of "*pillory*, or *whipping*, as the court shall, in their *discretion*, "deem proper."

By this law a tolerably extensive power is vested in his Majesty's justices of peace. It is no trifling power, to be able, on

bare suspicion, for there is no information required by the act, to break open doors, *as well by night as by day*, whether the owners be Protestants or Papists. And it is very extraordinary that, under a law passed in this very reign, there is a possibility of pillorying and flogging at the cart's tail, any Catholic gentleman who may have a case of pistols in his house, provided the court should, in their *discretion*, think proper to award such punishment.

I have taken the two first articles in the author's enumeration of the penal laws, merely to show the very imperfect idea, which any one who relies on his authority must have of that abominable code of tyranny. It is by no means my purpose to go into a full investigation of a question for which any person desirous of authentic information, will find all the necessary materials in a report lately published by a committee of the United Irishmen of Dublin.

The disabilities affecting the Catholics as such, they are pledged, by solemn compact, that is, as far as the Catholic society has power to pledge them, to use all their influence to endeavor to remove. That is, as the author states, (page 17) and fairly enough, they are pledged to endeavor the repeal of all laws and usages, which place them under greater disadvantages than the Protestant inhabitants of the kingdom. He then proceeds to state, as the first step to this repeal, the removal of all taxes levied on them for the maintenance of an established government and church in which they have no share. I shall examine the last first, and, for this purpose, I beg leave to refer to a former paragraph of this pamphlet, where it appeared necessary to guard a construction of the author's by subjoining a few explanatory words.

I say, then, that, under the true spirit and meaning of the declaration the Catholics are in no sense pledged to interfere with the *discipline*, or, what may to some seem of as much importance, the *property* of the established church. What do they say? That they will seek the repeal of all such laws as aggrieve them as Catholics; that is, in fair construction, as Catholics exclusively. Now are they, as Catholics, exclusively aggrieved by the doctrine, the discipline, or the tythes, of the Church of Ireland? Certainly not: Protestant dissenters are as much aggrieved in all these points. Quakers are as much aggrieved.

If these two latter sects were exonerated from all ecclesiastical charges, save only such as they might voluntarily impose on themselves, and if these charges were continued by statute on the Catholics, and on them only, then their declaration might bear the sense contended for by the author; but until that case be shown to be so, the plain and obvious sense of the declaration, as far as it can be thought to bear upon the Church, is, evidently, that the Catholics wish to stand like any other sect of Christians, not established by the law of the land.

For the other part, (the endeavor to impede or withhold taxation for the support of a Government in which they have no share,) it is too idle to deserve any answer. Does the writer or any sober man, think that the Catholics have any such idea? The fallacy lies in taking the words of their declaration, not in an obvious and popular sense, but in the most general and unqualified construction of language. The intention of the Catholics, even in the meaning contended for, is not only innocent, but highly laudable. They will not withhold nor oppose taxes for the support of Government, though they have no share in it, but they will endeavor, fairly and temperately, to obtain such a share in the representation of the people, as their property and numbers may ascertain to be reasonable. And by this process, even on the construction of their adversary, they may exert all their influence to do away the laws, which aggrieve them as Catholics, without a rash and ruinous plan of opposition to good order and government, not to be found in their words, their actions, nor any where, but in "*the Protestant Interest in Ireland ascertained.*'

The Roman Catholic Committee are charged with great asperity, as having dissented from Lord Kenmare, (page 19.) The personal quarrel between the body and that nobleman, is distorted into a total difference of principle, and the principles of the Noble Lord and his party are stated with great ostentation. Now, the connection between the Peer and the Committee having been already touched upon, and papers of authority having been referred to, it is only necessary here to state, in the words of the General Committee, what their principles are, previous to which it is proper to observe, that, at the time Lord Kenmare's resolutions were moved, there was a Subcommittee of twenty-one gentlemen, deputed for the express

purpose of making application to the Legislature on behalf of the Catholics, which Sub-committee had received the unanimous thanks of the body at large, and instructions to persevere in the same line of conduct, and this but a week before the time of moving those resolutions. These resolutions, which superseded those attempted so insidiously by Lord Kenmare and his party, are as follow:

1. "*Resolved*, That we approve of the past conduct of our "Sub-committee and confide in their future diligence and zeal, "for making such applications to the Legislature as may be "deemed expedient, for obtaining a further relaxation of the "penal laws."

2. "*Resolved*, That we refer to the petition intended to be "presented in the last session, as a criterion of our sentiments, "and that we are ready to renew our declarations of loyalty to "the King, attachment to the constitution, and obedience to "the laws, whenever the Legislature shall require it."

The resolutions proposed by Lord Kenmare's party, which are in every body's hands, it is evident, from looking at the very first of them, could not be adopted by the General Committee, without a strong and direct censure on their Sub-committee, then actually in employ, and, at the same time, a gross and foolish inconsistency in themselves, who had but the week before, thanked that very Sub-committee, which they were now, without any fault alleged or proved, invited to supersede. The Committee, therefore, considered the measure to be, what it undoubtedly was, an insidious attempt to divide, and by dividing, to destroy, and subvert the character and respectability of their own body; and when his Lordship thought proper with his adherents to withdraw, and not only so, but to publish his resolutions, and thereby, as far as in him lay, to impeach and villify the Committee, he did, in effect, declare war first, and if he has forfeited thereby all claim to the attachment and confidence of the Catholics of Ireland, he has none to accuse but his own weakness, or the wickedness of his advisers.

I know I am giving this Noble Lord a consequence he does not merit, by considering him as so much implicated in the present question; but the fact is, that when his resolutions are read by people who are ignorant of the facts, and who afterwards learned that he was hanged in effigy by the mob, it may be

thought it was merely for the spirit of these resolutions, and not at all for the malicious, artful, and wicked intent with which they were introduced; and for this reason only has it been thought necessary to go so fully into the business, as far as his Lordship is concerned in it. Let us now return to the argument.

The author states, on the authority of the feud between Lord Kenmare and the committee, (p. 20,) "That the Catholics have "determined, that no qualifications of time or circumstances "ought to restrict their demands; that they will not be satisfied "by a gradual extension of indulgences from the Legislature, "but that nothing less than an immediate and entire repeal of "all the laws by which they are aggrieved, as Roman Catho-"lics, will entirely content them." I trust that, from the explanation given of that business, it appears they have determined no such thing; and I shall, in the course of this work, prove it beyond a possibility of doubt. For the present, however, we will suppose, but not admit, his statement to be according to the fact, and let him draw his inference. For this purpose, he considers the question in two points of view; first, as matter of right, and, secondly, as matter of policy.

To the first point, he sets out with entering a solemn protest against the new invented, speculative doctrine of the rights of man. The equality of rights, he contends, with considerable art, and perhaps somewhat too much logic, is only true of man in his natural state. But this is a state in which man has never been found. It is, therefore, of little importance to the subject, whether his syllogism be conclusive or not. We are arguing on no vain hypothesis, nor idle principles. The grievances complained of, are solid and substantial; the numbers concerned, are millions; the object in view, of no less magnitude than the fate of a nation. Under these circumstances, I confess I should be ashamed to descend to the petty artifices of a sophistic dabbling in mode and figure; nor can I suppress my surprise at this silly ostentation of scholastic knowledge in a writer who, in every other part of his work, shows a capacity so eminently adapted for better things. Let us, therefore, lay aside the question of man in his natural state, and take it up as we find him in Ireland.

"The advocates of the Catholics," says the author, "advance "a sweeping little syllogism. Men have no right to be bound by "laws to which they did not actually consent. But the Roman "Catholics never gave their consent to the penal laws; there-"fore they have no right to be bound by them." (p. 24.) It is not by syllogisms that men are argued into liberty; nor by sophistry, as I trust, that they can be argued out of it. I confess I dislike abstract reasoning on practical subjects. I am buried in matter. When I feel a grievance pinch me sorely, I look neither for the major nor the minor of a proposition, or syllogism, but merely for the proximate cause, and the possibility of removing it. The author, however, is determined to argue logically, and I must, if I can, follow his method. The fallacy of the above conclusion is found, according to him, in the minor proposition; for the Roman Catholics *did consent*, as appears by their enjoying some at least of the benefits of the Government, which, according to Locke, is a virtual or tacit consent. I am no great admirer of this kind of constructive consent, which is advanced as an argument to control the efforts of three millions of people, earnest after liberty. I wish, as much as possible, to realize arguments into existence. I will ask any Catholic in the kingdom, "Sir do you consent to the penal laws, which grind you to powder? Will you be content to remain, politically, a slave? Will you leave your son without power, or franchise, or education?" What would be his answer? Would he attend to any man who should preach up to him a scholastic doctrine of implied consent to what his heart burns within him to repel? No: he would tell me, "I have a respect for even unjust laws; I will acquiesce under them, but I will never be so base as to belie every feeling of a man, and allow that I consented to the perpetual slavery of myself, and of what is beyond comparison more galling, of my children." I know there is no logic in this, but I think there is human nature.

It may, however, be matter of doubt, whether, on the ground even of *legal right*, the question on behalf of the Catholics be so untenable as many think it. Parliaments may do many things, and, undoubtedly, have done some very strange ones. They are omnipotent, in the opinion of an oracle of our law. Yet, many men have doubted the legality of that act of the British legislature, which prolonged the existence of the House of Commons

from three to seven years; and the reason of their doubts was, that they questioned the power of that House to disfranchise the people of England for four years, as, by that act, they undoubtedly did. They were deputed to make *laws*, not *legislators*. Now, if this argument be founded, apply the principles to that act which deprived the Catholics of the right of suffrage. Undoubtedly they voted at the elections of that Parliament, and very probably several of them sate in that house. Every freeholder is for so much a legislator, and certainly he never deputed his power to his representative, for the purpose of its being annihilated. Parliament were to make laws, not to unmake the power from which themselves were but an emanation. If they had a right, in England, to prolong their existence for four years, why not for forty? If, in Ireland, to disfranchise all the Papists, why not all the Protestants? Why not perpetuate the present House of Commons, and supply occasional vacancies by nominations of their own? I mention this to show how unwise it is in their adversaries to drive the question to mere right.

"But," says the author, "the law is now settled," and then, conscious of the weakness of his argument, he falls violently on Paine's theory, that every age and generation must be as free to act for itself in all cases, as the ages and generations which preceded it; a theory which will not now be easily shaken, until men have learned the secret how to unthink their thoughts and unknow their knowledge. The author, however, is of opinion, "that his reasoning applies equally against all establishments, "and goes directly to prove that there ought to be no fixed "government in any state; for, if no generation be bound by "the acts of any preceding one, no government could last be-"yond the lives of its constituent members." "This might do "well enough," to use the words of an elegant writer, "did "one generation of men go off the stage at once, and another "succeed, as is the case with silk-worms and butterflies." (*Hume's Essays on the Original Contract*, vol i. p. 483.) "But "as," to continue the words of the same writer, "human society "is in perpetual flux, one man every hour going out of the world, "and another coming into it, it is necessary, in order to preserve "stability in Government, that the new brood should conform "themselves to the established constitution, and nearly follow "the path which their fathers, treading in the footsteps of theirs, "have marked out to them."

What is the mischief attending this theory of Paine? That there can be no settled government? Certainly nothing was ever more unfair than this deduction, nor more false in fact. Paine's meaning is so obvious, that it must be something worse than dulness which can misunderstand it. It is clearly this, that no generation is so far bound by a precedent one, as not to be able, *when circumstances require*, to break the tie. The acts of our ancestors are binding, not by their authority, but by our acquiescence, which gives them a sanction; we adopt and make them our own by our voluntary act; and let it not be imagined that laws will therefore want effect, or governments permanency. The people will no more sacrifice good ones to a mere theory, than they will be bound, irrevocably, to bad ones, by the magic of a tacit consent, which they never heard, nor were conscious of. It is a common, yet a very gross falsehood, to say the people are prone to change. They are not. They always bear oppression as long, and longer, than they ought; and he who maintains the contrary, advances an old and idle common place, unsupported by argument, by experience, by history, and by human nature.

But why all this bustle about mere right, on one side, and tacit consent, on the other? The Catholics have been actually in bonds for one hundred years; and, whatever the original violence or injustice of their deprivation might have been, they have adopted a line of conduct which settles the dispute at once. They come, with at least sufficient humility, to petition the legislature, and they advance no right; they *request*, only; they *claim* nothing. It is, therefore, unnecessary for any purpose, unless to supply food for ingenious argument, longer to debate the question of right. It is, however, too convenient for the author, in that point of view, readily to part with it. He therefore goes on, (p. 28,) "The Roman Catholics are persons possessing pro-"perty under Government. They, therefore, have given their "consent, and are bound to obedience to the present Govern-"ment, and ought to obey the legislature, as it exists, composed "of King, Lords, and Commons, in all matters of public con-"cern. They can, therefore, have no *right* to dictate to, or "command them. Their present application, therefore, cannot "be the demand of a right." They are bound, not merely by this constructive consent, but by their own admission, in applying to the legislature for relief. But, perhaps, the best proof

that they are bound is their political slavery for one hundred years; for this is matter of fact. But the deduction of this argument is as fallacious as all the premises are at this day unnecessary. The author confounds right to demand, with right to seize, or mere right. The Catholics have neither demanded nor seized—they have sued. If I have an estate unjustly withheld from me, it is my *right*, but I must recover it by law. If I lend a man my watch, and he refuses to return it, it is still my right, and I may demand it, but I may not knock him down and take it by force; I must apply to the country. Apply this principle to the Catholics.

The author at last admits, (page 28) after having sufficiently shown his ability on the question of right, that it is plain the Catholics themselves do not consider their claims as matter of right; their language, though bold, is still rather that of solicitation than of demand; but in a note he subjoins that, since the writing of that pamphlet, they had betrayed a swelling and menacing spirit. To this the only answer that can be given is a direct contradiction. It is on him to support the fact, we have the negative, which, perhaps, in the equitable spirit of those penal laws which he supports, he may call upon us to prove. It is a vile calumny, and, considering their suppliant state, a cruel and unmanly one to charge the unfortunate Catholics with holding the language of hostility and intimidation. When have they done so? Who has heard it? Who has seen it? One good Protestant after another picks up the cry till it becomes a general chorus; yet not one individual of the pack can shew where he hit off the scent. Once more, I deny the fact; let our calumniators prove it if they can.

Again: I am reluctantly compelled, I hope for the last time, to return to the question of right. "The Catholics," says he, (page 29) "declare that their exertions shall be consistent with their duty "to the Civil Magistrate, therefore, they acknowledge the obli- "gation of submission to the Magistrate, and, of course, to the "Government constituting him. They cannot, therefore, demand, "as a right, principles which go to the infringement of that Go- "vernment."

In the first place, on behalf of the Catholics, I protest against the possibility of suspicion of want of attachment to the constitution. In the next place, what does the author mean by this argument? Is a dutiful submission to the laws in being, incom-

patible with a peaceable endeavor to procure the repeal of one obnoxious statute? Are the citizens of Dublin disloyal in seeking the abrogation of the infamous police law? If the principle laid down in the last sentence be right, then a Government, however unjust or tyrannical, which is once established, is established forever, for every alteration for the better would be a principle which would go to the *infringement* of that Government, and the subject could, therefore, never *demand* it sa a *right*. Usurpation becomes immortal; the Barons who extorted Magna Charta traitors; the Parliament under Charles I. rebels, and all declaratory laws nonsense. Was not our Revolution in 1782 an infringement on the principles of the British Government? yet who among us hesitated to demand it as a right?

The author admits, at last, that, if the Catholics have not mere right, they have, at least, a tolerable case in equity, (page 30.) "It is their strong ground, and had it not been for their "own *infatuated intemperance*, might have been capable of an- "swering most of their purposes. But they have passed all "bounds of discretion and decency; and the failure of their "projects will be owing to the *extravagance* of their *folly*." This is more of that unfounded calumny from which the Catholics have already endured so much, and to which it is impossible to reply but by direct negation. How very oddly do we denominate the feelings of Catholics! In them, a wish to educate and advance their children is "infatuated intemperance;" to intermarry with Protestants is "breaking through the sacred bounds of discretion and decency;" but to seek a part, however subordinate in the administration of that Government to which they so largely contribute, is "the wildest extravagance of folly."

The whole equity of their case, says the author, will be found reducible to three points: "1st. They claim the natural rights "of men;" "2d. There is no reason why these rights should "now be withholden from them, for the causes of the infliction "of their disabilities has ceased, and they have shown them- "selves deserving of every indulgence;" "3d. To this indul- "gence, the numbers of the sufferers is an additional equitable "inducement." To the first it is only necessary to say, that it is not the natural rights of man, but the political rights of citizens, that we are to argue upon; to the last, the point of num-

bers, the author says, "it is clearly but a collateral and a de-
"pendent consideration. If their case be not good in its merits,
"no strength of numbers can make it so; and I hope it is not
"intended to rest the matter on an argument of force; if it be,
"it must be answered in kind. But till I hear it asserted that
"number and justice are synonimous terms, I shall follow the
"old way of estimating the rectitude of the former, by the
"principles of the latter." To this I answer, that, though num-
bers should prove nothing as to the merits, which is allowing
too much, yet, if their case should prove founded in justice, it
makes a very material difference as to the expediency of attend-
ing to their complaints. I am far from wishing to bully the Le-
gislature, yet I cannot help often thinking that perhaps three
millions of people, now in Ireland, are discontented, and, with
reason, with many of our laws. To warn, says Burke, is not to
menace.

We are now arrived at the second division of the author's ar-
gument—I mean the question of policy. The penal laws are
admitted, after a very short discussion, (page 35) to have origin-
ated in self-preservation, and the necessity of the case; in a
word, they were built on a very bad foundation, the right of con-
quest, or, in other words, the law of the stronger. If the author
meant his statement as a kind of excuse for the wicked policy
of our ancestors in framing those laws, and not as an argument
for their continuance, I for one should readily allow him all li-
berty, but he seems inclined to push it much farther. "Here,
"says he, we have the origin of the penal laws. The barbarities
"which gave rise to them must undoubtedly excite our horror
"and disgust. But in the infliction of the laws themselves, we
"find cause of regret rather than of censure. They appear to
"have been the melancholy result of an indispensable necessity,
"and, if we do condemn, (and surely we cannot too much con-
"demn) it ought to be the fatal spirit which was the cause, not
"the cautionary policy which was the necessary effect. Has
"this cause then entirely ceased? And may we consequently
"entirely remove the effects? What proof have we of this?
"What proof have we that the Roman Catholics have relinquish-
"ed that spirit of bigotry, all those obnoxious principles of
"their religion which formerly made them such inveterate foes
"to our establishment?" To this I answer, What necessity

compels she undoubtedly justifies, but certainly nothing short of an invincible necessity should induce us to continue laws of which truth compels even the advocate for their existence, to speak in such terms. In the second place, as to the proofs required by the author of the decease of Roman bigotry, I know not what proofs can possibly be given. What can the Catholics say? What can they do that will be satisfactory? Their oath of allegiance, is that satisfactory? The opinions of seven learned Catholic universities, are they satisfactory? Their peaceable demeanor through one hundred years of slavery, is that satisfactory? Their unshaken loyalty during two rebellions and one revolution, is that satisfactory? What mode can be devised which will remove the doubts of all? The men who grudge them political existence, and, among these men, the author, well know that it is a question, in its nature, incapable of proof, and, therefore, it is, that they press it with such vehemence, not to have their fears removed, or their doubts satisfied. Satisfaction to them would be calamity, for it must be followed by justice.

The author (pages 38, 39, 40,) will not take their words, nor their actions, nor their oaths. Words prove nothing, actions are but *negative* proof, and oaths are liable to equivocation. And, yet, he requires some security distinct from words and actions and oaths. Will he take the immense property of the Catholics as a security? No, (page 41.) "Property in their "hands is an extremely weak tie, which we see men every day "break through, to gratify any darling passion, and it can, at "any rate, apply but to a very inconsiderable part of their "community."

I congratulate with the author in his discovery in the theory of human feeling, that "property is an extremely weak tie." It has been thought by many, not indeed so much to the credit of our species, that it was one of the strongest. Certainly the Protestants of Ireland do not think so contemptuously of property, nor are they of opinion that the Catholics are so disregardful of it; otherwise, why should they feel, or affect to feel such terror, on the score of the forfeited estates? And, if they feel the force of such impressions, in common justice they should suppose, that the Catholics are, in that respect, neither better nor worse than themselves.

"Many of the most obnoxious and absurd principles of the "Catholic religion have, I know, fallen into disuse with the "most rational part of their community, but who can tell how "far the spirit of it may yet exist?" (page 38.) Again: "Who "can tell what difference the possession of power might make?" (page 39.) "It is impossible the majority of any description of "men can be of high honor and extended liberality. What se- "curity have we for them then?" (page 38.) These are the invidious and artful queries, with which the author seeks to work on the ignorance, the passions, and fears of the multitude. I answer to them all, no man can ensure him satisfaction, because no man can have positive knowledge. In all the great business of life, we must direct our conduct by high probabilities. For the future good conduct of the Catholics, we have the past, we have their words, their oaths, and, I will add, slight as it may appear to him, their properties. Surely the man who can resist all these pledges, without suggesting any other mode by which security may be obtained, cannot expect to be believed in the following assertion. "I should be one of the last who would wish to "withhold from the Catholics any natural rights or privileges "which the welfare of our Government would allow to be ex- "tended to them; and I declare, if the wisdom of the Legisla- "ture shall think fit to grant any or whatever indulgences to "them, consistently with the general good, I, as an individual, "shall rejoice," (page 55.)

The Catholics are charged, early in his work, with being vague and indefinite in their demands. May they not, with more truth, retort the charge upon his helpless queries and affected terrors, and impossible suspicions? "I know," says Edmund Burke, "and I am sure that such ideas as no man will "distinctly produce to another, or hardly venture to bring in any "plain shape to his own mind, he will utter in *obscure, ill explain-* "*ed doubts, jealousies, surmises, fears, and apprehensions,* and that, "in such a fog, they will appear to have a good deal of size, and "will make an impression, when, if they were clearly brought "forth and defined, they would meet with nothing but scorn "and derision."

"Should the Roman Catholics, who compose a considerable "majority of the nation, aim at *equal* privileges, and, of course, "at the Legislature, it is clear that obedience to the constitution

"will then be obedience to their will. For the will of the ma-"jority is the will of the whole," (page 4.) I answer, if they had *equal* privileges, it would not follow, though it be artfully slid in here as a thing of course, that they would have the Legislature. In the first place, they could not have the crown; in the next, they could not have the House of Lords; nor, lastly, could they have the House of Commons. The two first steps need no proofs. For the last, it is idle to say, whilst property continues, as it ever must continue, to have its weight in society, that the Protestants can ever be outnumbered in the House, though every Catholic in Ireland should have a vote. Who are the great landed interest of the country? Are they Protestants? Has a landlord any influence over his tenantry? Do Catholic landlords influence their Protestant tenants? and, if so, will the rule be false when reversed? But all this applies only to county elections. The county members are about seventy. Supposing them all, which is impossible, Catholics, what becomes of the two hundred and thirty members returned for boroughs, every one in the hands of Protestant patrons? Will not these patrons, for the sake of that *weak* tie, their property in their boroughs, take care to prevent the possibility of a Catholic majority in the House of Commons, lest *reform* should be the inevitable consequence? I have argued all this as if a Catholic majority were a thing to be dreaded; which, however, yet remains to be proved. Whether it be possible for the whole House of Commons ever to become Catholic or not, which, after what has been said, may appear at least not very probable, it is very certain that the Legislature, in all its parts, can never become so, and consequently all inference from the supposition of such an event, must fall to the ground.

At length we have arrived at the weighty part of the argument: all hitherto has been, as it were, matter of inducement. The author asserts at once, (page 46,) that extending the elective franchise and capacity for office to the Catholics, goes at once to an entire subversion of our established constitution. "Do not the laws by which they are excluded from the profes-"sions and employments I have enumerated, aggrieve them as "Roman Catholics? Undoubtedly. They are bound, therefore, "to promote the repeal of them. Does not the law which pro-"hibits them from voting at elections equally with Protestants,

"aggrieve them as Roman Catholics? Certainly. Does not the "law which prohibits them from being elected members of the "House of Commons aggrieve them as Roman Catholics? It "cannot be denied. Does not the law which prohibits them from "sitting and voting in the House of Peers, equally aggrieve "them as Roman Catholics? It does. Does not even the law "which settles the Crown in a Protestant succession, remotely "aggrieve them as Roman Catholics? It does, or it may do so. "Do not, in fine, the various laws by which they are obliged to "contribute to all the establishments of Church and State, from "which they are excluded, aggrieve them as Roman Catholics? "It cannot be denied that they do. Of all these, therefore, by "their own declaration, they are bound to procure the repeal. "Now these, comprehending the whole of our established con- "stitution, it follows, strictly, that the whole of our established "constitution is within the scope of their intended abolition."

The whole of this argument depends on this: that it is impossible for the two sects to co-exist in a state other than that of tyrant and slave, and that all alteration is subversion. It contains, likewise, one very subtle fallacy, that the law is the constitution. To assert that they are things widely different, may, at first, startle some people, yet I only beg a patient hearing and I hope to be able to prove it.

If the law be the constitution, then it follows that there can be no such thing as an unconstitutional law, for that would be a contradiction in terms. But we know that it is possible such laws may be, I do not say have been, enacted. Suppose an act were passed empowering the Lord Chancellor to order one of the suitors of his court from the bar, on written evidence, and without the benefit of cross examination, to be hanged up at the front of the Four Courts. There can be little doubt but this would be an unconstitutional law. If it be admitted that there can be an unconstitutional law, then I say the laws which aggrieve the Catholics, as such, are the most abominable system that ever was devised, and contravene, in a thousand places, every known principle of our constitution. And I say further, that the law depriving them of the elective franchise, is, of that black code, the most unconstitutional, because it strikes not at the forms, but at the essence of liberty. The robbing them, the people, of their due control over their representatives, was

such a high invasion of privilege and subversion of all principle of legislation, as it may well be questioned whether it was not a breach of the original contract, and at once a dissolution of the Government. The Protestant religion is not of the essence of our constitution, for that was ascertained before the other had existence. The indefeasible liberty of the subject, and of that, the animating soul and spirit, the elective franchise, is co-existent with the constitution; it is a vital and inseparable part of it; it is the substance of liberty—religion but the accident. Freedom may be found where Protestantism is not; but shew me where it exists without the elective franchise. I say, in disfranchising the Catholics, the *Parliament* which did so were guilty of a subversion of the constitution, and not the descendants of those Catholics, who now, after a patient suffering of one hundred years, come humbly to demand a remnant of a remnant of their birth right.

When we talk of the constitution, does it never occur, that it contains certain immutable principles? "No man shall be bound by laws to which he does not consent by himself or his representatives." Is that the constitution? "No man shall be taxed where he is not represented." Is that the constitution? And if it be, what is the constitution to the Catholics of Ireland? May they not say with the children of Israel, "Your fathers made our yoke grievous; now ease ye somewhat of the grievous servitude of your fathers, and the heavy yoke that they put upon us, and we will serve you." But if, like Rehoboam, we are determined to harden our hearts and to refuse their just, humble, and moderate demand, shall they not say, "What portion have we in David? and we have none inheritance in the son of Jesse. *Every man to your tents, O Israel, and now David see to thine own house.*" 2 Chronicles, chap. 10.

I have done. And let it be remembered that this is not intended for a general view of the question. There is little advanced on behalf of the Catholics; for my object was merely to obviate, as far as lay in my power the mischief that might result from a publication of arguments so able, artful, and ingenious, as those I have attempted to review. If my work be, as I know it is, very imperfect, let it only be read on the same system with which it has been written, as an answer to one book, and not as a comprehensive view of the whole controversy. T. W. T.

VINDICATION

Of the Circular of the Catholic Sub-committee, in reply to the Resolutions of the Grand Juries.—1792.

We, the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, feel it incumbent on us to submit to our country the following reply to the charges brought against our principles and conduct in the late resolutions of several Grand Juries, and other bodies of our fellow-subjects. Satisfied as we are of the justice of our cause, and the moderation of our measures, we do not shrink from inquiry, however minute, or investigation, however severe.

In the first place we avow, as our act, the circular letter of the Sub-committee, which has been of late the subject of so much unmerited censure.

The Catholics of Ireland feel in their case the subversion of two great principles of the Constitution, which form the grand criterion between the freeman and the slave; they are taxed without being represented, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give or withhold their assent; they will, therefore, persist in their endeavors to remove this political incapacity, by any means not expressly forbidden by the law; and as the most dutiful, peaceable, and constitutional mode, they will petition their Sovereign and the Legislature.

We do admit and avow one charge which has been alleged against us, so far as it asserts that this Committee is intended to meet in the capital, and to speak and act in the name, and on the behalf, of the Catholics of Ireland. We trust that our intention of thus meeting *in the capital*, under the immediate observation of the Government of the country, is a sufficient indication of the moderation which we have prescribed as the invariable rule of our conduct; and we refer to the circular letter itself for the object of our meeting. It is merely for the purpose of "dutifully, humbly, and constitutionally representing to our "Sovereign, and to Parliament, the many severe laws which "oppress us; and to implore, as essential to our protection, and "for the securing an impartial distribution of justice in our fa-"vor, that we be restored to the elective franchise, and an equal "participation in the benefits of the trial by jury."

If our endeavors constitutionally to obtain these two great objects, have given offence to any among our Protestant bre-

thren, we most sincerely and heartily regret it; but we cannot in justice to ourselves, or to our children, desist from claims, founded in the very first principles, not only of universal equity, but more particularly of that Constitution, into which it is the summit of our ambition to be re-admitted.

We are charged with an intention of overawing the Legislature. We deny the charge. When our humble petition was presented in the last session of Parliament, it was rejected with circumstances of unprecedented disgrace, under the pretence that we did not speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland. To prevent the possibility of such a charge being repeated, we proposed the present plan, and what is the consequence? We are charged with framing what is invidiously called *a Popish Congress*, to overawe the Legislature. We submit to the candor and good sense of our Protestant countrymen, whether this argument does not go totally to deprive the Catholics of the right to petition. Three millions of them cannot, and if they could, ought not to meet, for the purpose of stating their grievances and suing for redress; they must, therefore, either acquiesce without effort, or act by delegation, a mode not forbidden to any of his Majesty's subjects, and more emphatically allowable to the Catholics, inasmuch as they have no representatives in Parliament to whom they may apply. If this mode be forbidden them, they have no other by which they can act with effect, and the obvious and certain consequence is, that the Catholics of Ireland are in fact debarred from the common birthright of every subject, the great, unalienable, indefeasible privilege, inherent in the vitals of the Constitution, THE RIGHT TO PETITION THE LEGISLATURE FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES.

We have been called turbulent, dangerous, and factious men, and the circular letter denominated a false, scandalous, and seditious libel. To such extreme violence of language, we make no retort, but appeal to the candor of our Protestant brethren, whether our conduct has been such as to call down such epithets; and whether there can be a stronger proof of the unprotected state of the Catholics of Ireland, resulting from their being deprived of representation in Parliament, than that their conduct in preparing an humble address, in the only mode from which, in their situation, success could be expected, and one sanctioned by the law of the land, stating their grievances to their Sovereign and the Legislature, and praying relief, should be spoken

of in terms of such extreme severity. On that language, we forbear to make any comment, for we earnestly wish to avoid any expressions which can look like animosity on our part; it is our most ardent desire, as it is our first duty, to live in a mutual intercourse of affection and good offices with our Protestant brethren; political controversy, in its own nature sufficiently grievous, we will not aggravate by unnecessary asperity of language.

We see, with great concern, several among our Protestant brethren, at the same time that they condemn the *manner* of our intended application to Parliament, declare that, *in no possible contingency*, are we to expect a participation in the elective franchise. If such determination were to be executed in strictness, we submit whether it would not follow that no length of time, no degree of suffering, can wipe away the political sins, falsely imputed to our ancestors by the malice of their enemies, but, that slaves as we are, so slaves we shall remain, FOREVER! It is an awful sentence—whether the Catholics of Ireland assemble in gross, or by delegation, whether they petition, or are silent, whether they resist or submit, the doom of eternal, irrevocable slavery, is pronounced on them and their posterity, through all generations. It should seem from this unqualified condemnation of our hopes. that the opposition is directed against the principle, not the mode; that the *Popish Congress* is but the nominal, the elective franchise the real ground of objection.

Those who oppose our emancipation, appear to argue upon two principles, which, we conceive, are radically erroneous: 1st, That Catholic freedom is incompatible with Protestant liberty, so that, whatever one party gains, the other must, necessarily, lose in the same proportion; and, secondly, that admitting us to the elective franchise, would immediately transfer into our hands the whole power of the state.

To the first we reply, that liberty, like light, is universal and inconsumable; though millions may at once enjoy it, the blessing is equal to each, and the right of no man is abridged by participation with his neighbor; it is not of a nature subject to mathematical division; it expands without diminution, and strengthens itself by general communication. We cannot conceive freedom in that contracted sense, when the share of each individual is lessened by the number of partakers; we know there is liberty enough for us all, Protestants and Catholics; we know that the more who enjoy its blessings, the more will

be interested in its preservation; we know that the prosperity of Ireland has uniformly and rapidly increased, as the baneful spirit of religious persecution has decayed, and that every remission of the penal code has been accompanied, inseparably, by an influx of wealth and of power into our country.

To the second, we humbly submit that no idea can be more erroneous, than that granting us the elective franchise would transfer into our hands the whole power of the state. In the first place, depressed as we are, the objects of so many existing penal statutes, without power and without privilege, it would be, perhaps, arrogant in us solemnly to protest against our holding such an idle notion; but, if we were so weak as for an instant to entertain it, we ask, with all deference, by what means are we to acquire this power? We will not now assert, what none has yet ventured directly to impeach, our loyalty to our Sovereign, or our attachment to the principles of the Constitution, as established in the three estates of the legislature. Of these, two, the Crown, and the House of Peers, created by the Crown, are unalterably Protestant. It is, therefore, only in the House of Commons, that this danger can be apprehended.

Situated as we are, it is little to say that power is not our object; it is protection, not power, that we desire; the means of defending the Catholic peasantry of Ireland from tyranny and oppression, and of securing to them equal access to leasehold property with their Protestant brethren; for we assert, and we disregard contradiction unsupported by facts, that wherever political power is an object, the Catholics are universally compelled, at the expiration of their leases, either to renounce that religion to which they are conscientiously attached, or to turn out from their farms.

Finally, we do hereby, in the name and on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, solemnly disclaim and protest against all idea of force; and avail ourselves of this opportunity to declare to our Sovereign, to the legislature, and to our country, our determination, inflexibly, to persevere in every method which the laws allow and the Constitution warrants, to exercise the right of the subject to petition, and to obtain, through the benignity and wisdom of our Sovereign and the legislature, for the Catholics of Ireland, THE RIGHT OF ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, AND AN EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE BENEFITS OF THE TRIAL BY JURY.

A VINDICATION

OF THE

Conduct and Principles of the Catholics of Ireland,

FROM THE

CHARGES MADE AGAINST THEM,

BY

CERTAIN LATE GRAND JURIES,

AND OTHER INTERESTED BODIES IN THAT COUNTRY:

WITH

An Appendix of Authentic Documents.

Published by order of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, assembled at Dublin, on Monday, December 3, 1792.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A CORRECT COPY OF THE PETITION

PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY, JAN. 2, 1793.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED,

NOTES, RECITING THE STATUTES

On which the Allegations of the Petition are grounded.

1793.

A VINDICATION, &c.

THE General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, finding, with the deepest concern, that their principles and conduct have been misunderstood and misrepresented in a variety of late publications; and fearing lest silence on their part might be supposed to proceed either from a consciousness that the charges made against them were just, or a disregard to public opinion, think proper to publish the following exposition of their objects and their motives.

After a century of pains and penalties, in which period the most severe and minute investigation had not been able to attach on them one instance of disloyalty, the Catholics of Ireland ventured to approach the Government of their country, and with all humility to hope for some relaxation of the oppressive system of laws under which they groaned. For that purpose, in 1790, a deputation from their body prepared a petition to Parliament, of so modest a tenor as to ask for nothing specific, but merely that their case should be taken into consideration. With this petition they waited on the Minister to implore the countenance and protection of Government, but in vain; and not only so, but the Catholics of Ireland, constituting, at the lowest, three-fourths of the inhabitants of the kingdom, had not sufficient influence to induce any one member of Parliament to bring in their petition.

In 1791, a second deputation of twelve of their body waited on the Minister, with a list of the penal code, and again, without presuming to point out any specific measure, humbly submitted the whole to the wisdom and humanity of Government to remove any part which they might think fit; and so low was, at that time, the spirit, so abject the situation of the Catholics, that the smallest relaxation of their slavery would have been received

and acknowledged as the greatest favor. But it did not please the Minister to consider either their sufferings or their gratitude; occupied in more serious concerns, he had not leisure or inclination to attend to their complaints, and three millions of faithful and loyal subjects were turned away from the Castle, without even the ceremony of an answer.

Repelled by Government here, it was determined to try the Government of England; and, for this purpose, one of the Catholic body was delegated to lay before his Majesty's confidential Ministers a state of the sufferings of his Catholic subjects of Ireland. In consequence of this delegation, a negotiation was instituted, at the close of which it was understood that the Catholics might hope for four objects, grand juries, county magistrates, high sheriffs, and the bar; admission to the right of suffrage was also mentioned, and taken into consideration. But the enemies of their emancipation had, in the mean time, not been idle; every art was used to divide and distract, and, consequently, to baffle the strength and councils of the Catholics. An address was procured, signed by several respectable gentlemen, most of whom were utterly ignorant of the negotiation then going forward in England, by which the Catholic claims were submitted to the good pleasure and discretion of the Government here, and nothing specific demanded; equal diligence was used to shock the prejudices, and alarm the fears of the Protestants of the country, and to render them inimical to the wishes of their brethren; wherever it was hoped that influence could reach, it was exerted to the utmost; an outcry was raised and continued, particularly in the Corporation of Dublin, and one or two others of inferior note, reprobating the claims of the Catholics, and full of alarm for the safety of some undefined metaphor, which was called the "*Protestant Ascendency;*" particular pains were taken to vilify and asperse the General Committee, and to hold them up as an assembly of obscure, desperate, and factious men, who designed nothing less than a total subversion of every thing established in church and state.

Under these ill-boding auspices, Parliament met in January, 1792. On the first day of the session, notice was given by a respectable member, of a bill intended to be introduced for the relief of the Catholics, and on the 4th day of February, the bill was introduced, containing four heads; the bar, subject to ex-

clusion from the rank of King's counsel; intermarriage with Protestants, subject to the disfranchisement of a Protestant husband marying a Popish wife; and further subject to the punishment of death to any Catholic clergyman performing such ceremony, although, by something which scarce any deference to the wisdom or goodness of the Legislature can prevent from appearing at once a contradiction and a cruelty, such marriage is declared to be *null and void;* the privilege of teaching school, without obtaining a license from the ordinary; and, finally, the privilege of taking more than two apprentices. Such was the bill substituted for that, which, in all human probability, would have been obtained, but for the arts of some designing, and the credulity of some honest men, and such was the relief for which the Catholics of Ireland were ordered to be grateful and contented.

While this bill was in progress, the great body of Catholics, acting by their Committee, presented a petition to Parliament; and because it was openly said that they were proceeding on a principle of indecent menace and intimidation, and that the House was called on to assert its dignity, and to crush such audacious violence in the outset, it is necessary, for the justification of the Committee, to republish the petition, which was as follows: "That, as the House had thought it expedient to di-"rect their attention to the situation of the Roman Catholics of "Ireland, and to a further relaxation of the penal statutes still "subsisting against them, they beg leave, with all humility, to "come before the House, with the most heartfelt assurance of "the wisdom and justice of Parliament, which is at all times "desirous most graciously to attend to the petition of the peo-"ple; they, therefore, humbly presume to submit to the House "their entreaty, *that they should take into their consideration* "*whether the removal of some of the civil incapacities under* "*which they labor, and the restoration of the petitioners to some* "*share in the elective franchise, which they enjoyed long after* "*the Revolution, will not tend to strengthen the Protestant state,* "*add new vigor to industry, and afford protection and happiness* "*to the Catholics of Ireland;* that the petitioners refer with "confidence to their conduct for a century past, to prove their "uniform loyalty and submission to the laws, and to corroborate "their solemn declaration, that, if they obtain from the justice

"and benignity of Parliament, such relaxation from certain in-"capacities, and a participation in that franchise which will "raise them to the rank of freemen, their gratitude must be "proportioned to the benefit, and that, enjoying some share in "the happy Constitution of Ireland, they will exert themselves "with additional zeal in its conservation." Of this petition, whatever may be the faults, it can scarcely be said with truth that insolence of language is one of them. It is a petition so humble, that it can hardly be said to be a petition at all, for it asks nothing, or next to nothing. The prayer of it is, not to be restored to any right or possession, but merely that the House should "*take into consideration whether the removal of some of* "*the grievances of the petitioners might not be compatible with* "*Protestant security, at the same time that it would insure the* "*happiness of the Catholics of Ireland.*" Surely this is not the language of menace or intimidation.

Humble, however, if not abject, as this petition may be thought by some, it did not escape a very severe condemnation. It was, contrary to the ordinary custom of Parliament, and to that indulgence usually shown to those who come humbly to supplicate their compassion, taken off the table, and, by a very large majority, *rejected;* by which the House did refuse, not to grant any relief to the petitioners, for that the petition did not venture to demand, but even to take their case into consideration. Whether regard be had to the numbers, the loyalty, the merits, or the sufferings, of the men who were thus driven from the door of the Legislature with so harsh a condemnation of their hopes, it may, perhaps, be thought that their petition, as well from the extreme modesty of the demand, as the almost servility of the language, might have been let to die in silence, without going through the ceremony of a public and ignominious execution. But this rejection was not confined to the petition of the Catholics; it extended also to their friends. The opulent, liberal, and spirited town of Belfast had petitioned that the Catholics might be released from the restrictive statutes at present in force against them, and so be restored to the rank of citizens. Their petition was taken off the table, and, by a specific vote, rejected also.

During the whole progress of the bill, a line was studiously drawn, at least in argument, between those gentlemen who had

addressed, and the Committee who had petitioned. The former were denominated, "The virtuous and the venerable, the "learned and the liberal." The latter were loaded with many severe epithets, and it was particularly insisted, and urged as one strong reason for the unprecedented contempt with which their petition had been rejected, that they were an obscure faction, confined merely to the capital, disowned by the great body of the Catholics, ignorant of their sentiments, and incompetent to speak or act on their behalf.

Under these circumstances of disgrace and obloquy heaped on the Committee, the bill was passed, and the Sessions terminated; *but the Catholics were not satisfied.* Their minds were roused to a due sense of their situation, and they determined to persevere.

Previous, however, to making any further application, the Committee, following the example of their brethren in England, which had been attended with such conciliating effects, and in pursuance of the advice of many of their best friends and ablest supporters, resolved to give to the Legislature and their country the fullest satisfaction in their power, on all topics of their faith, which were, however remotely, connected with the principles of good order and government. For this purpose they anxiously attended to every objection, and every proposal, whether resulting from motives of friendship or enmity, to secure or to subvert the hopes of emancipation; they consulted those who, from their situation and pursuits, were best acquainted with the difficulties and the doubts existing in the minds of their Protestant brethren; they diligently studied for the modes most likely to give complete satisfaction on all these points, and, finally, after due and earnest deliberation, they published a declaration, which is annexed in the Appendix (No. I.) The measure has completely answered its purpose. The declaration has been signed, it may be said, universally, by the Catholics of all descriptions throughout the kingdom, clergy and laity; it has received the warm approbation of all the supporters, and has imposed silence on many of the opponents of Catholic emancipation.

Having thus cleared the way, in a certain degree, by the removal of prejudices so long operating in their disfavor, and so diligently propagated and continued by all who wished that Ire-

land should remain disunited, and, consequently, feeble; wishing to pay every possible respect and deference to the Legislature, which had expressed doubts as to what were the real sentiments and wishes of the Catholic body; convinced that, to induce that august assembly to afford relief to three millions of loyal and peaceable subjects, they only wanted to be satisfied that it was their unanimous and earnest desire, and feeling the indispensable necessity of an organ whereby the unequivocal sense of *all the Catholics* of Ireland might be fairly collected and fully expressed, the committee devised a plan, whereby the sentiments of every individual of that body in Ireland should be ascertained. A copy of that plan is subjoined in the Appendix (No. II.)

Immediately on the appearance of this plan, a general outcry was raised against it; sedition, tumult, conspiracy, treason, was echoed from county to county, and Grand Jury to Grand Jury. Even some of the Legislators of the land, high in the confidence of their Sovereign, and armed with all the influence of station and office, did not disdain to preside at those meetings and stand foremost in a premature arraignment and condemnation of those merits and those claims, on which, in another place, and in another function, they were finally to determine, artfully forecasting that at a future day they might appear to act but in conformity and obedience to the very clamor which themselves had raised.

From the violent and outrageous intemperance of language held by some of those Grand Jurors, it might be thought that the Catholics of Ireland were on the eve of a general insurrection, ready to hurl the King from his throne, and tear the whole frame of the Constitution to pieces; the solemn tender of lives and fortunes, a measure that should be reserved for the last necessities of the State, for the actual invasion of a foreign enemy, or the impending ruin of a national bankruptcy, was repeated, until it became ridiculous. Even the peaceful Corporation of the capital caught the contagious phrenzy, and the Common Council of Dublin also made a tender of their lives and their fortunes.

It is not easy to do justice to those compositions but by extracts. The Leitrim Grand Jury denominate the plan "An in-"flammatory and dangerous publication," and state "That they "feel it necessary to come forward at this period to declare that "they are ready to support, *with their lives and fortunes*, our

"present most valuable Constitution in church and state; and "that they will *resist, to the utmost of their power*, the attempts "of any body of men, however numerous, who shall presume "to threaten innovation in either." The first signature to this paper is that of a gentleman, a member of the Legislature, and possessing the very lucrative place of Collector of the port of Dublin.

The Grand Jury of the county of Cork denominate the plan "An unconstitutional proceeding, of the most alarming, dan- "gerous, and seditious tendency; an attempt to *overawe Par- "liament;*" and state their determination to "*protect and defend, "with their lives and property*, the present Constitution in church "and state."

The Grand Jury of the county of Roscommon, after the usual epithets of "alarming, dangerous, and seditious," assert that the plan "calls upon the whole body of the Roman Catholics "of Ireland to associate themselves in the metropolis of this "kingdom upon the model of the National Assembly of "France, which has already plunged that *devoted country* into "a state of anarchy and tumult unexampled in any civilized "nation;" they state it to be "an attempt to *overawe Parlia- "ment;*" they mention their "serious and sensible alarms for "the existence of our present happy establishment in church "and state;" and their determination, "at the hazard of *every "thing dear to them*, to uphold and maintain the Protestant in- "terest of Ireland." To these two last appears the signature of a noble Lord, who was Foreman of *both* Juries.

The Grand Jury of Sligo resolve, "That they will, at all "times, and by every constitutional means in their power, re- "sist and oppose every attempt NOW MAKING, OR HEREAFTER "TO BE MADE, by the Roman Catholics, to obtain the elective "franchise, *or any participation in the Government of the coun- "try*," and conclude with a tender of their "lives and fortunes."

The Grand Jury of Donegal declare that, though "they re- "gard the Catholics with tenderness, they will maintain, *at "the hazard of every thing dear to them*, the Protestant inter- "est of Ireland."

The Grand Jury of Fermanagh, professing, also, "the warm- "est attachment to their Roman Catholic brethren," feel it, however, necessary to come forward at this period to declare,

that they are "ready, with their *lives and fortunes*, to support "our present invaluable Constitution, in church and state," in which declaration they are abetted and comforted by the approbation of three noble Lords, expressed by their signatures to the said declaration.

The Grand Jury of the county of Derry, after expressing their apprehensions, lest this proceeding "may lead to the formation "of an hierarchy," (consisting partly of *laity*,) "which would "destroy the *Protestant ascendency, the freedom* of the elective "*franchise*, and the established Constitution of this country," tender their lives and fortunes to support "the happy Constitu- "tion, as established at the Revolution of 1688." A period, when, it is to be remarked, the Catholics of Ireland possessed the right of franchise, subject only to the taking a very simple oath of allegiance, comprised in two lines.

Without presuming to draw any inference, the committee beg leave here to state a plain fact. A very great majority of the leading signatures, affixed to those resolutions, are those of men either high in the Government of this country, or enjoying very lucrative places under that Government, or possessing extensive borough interest. The committee will not suppose that such considerations could have any influence on the conduct of those gentlemen, or that they could possibly bring their minds to think of sacrificing the liberty of three millions of people to the advancement of their own private interest. Be their motives, however, what they may, the fact is as it has been now stated.

It is a much more pleasing task to the committee to observe, with the sincerest gratitude, that many respectable grand juries had the magnanimity to reject, with scorn, the idea of dooming so large a portion of their countrymen to perpetual and hopeless slavery, and disdained to become accomplices in the political destruction of the peace and happiness of Ireland.

Perhaps enough has been submitted to furnish an adequate idea of the spirit of those compositions; yet, one or two remain behind, which claim peculiar notice, as well from the sentiments which they contain, as from the elevated rank of those who presided, or assisted at their promulgation.

The Grand Jury of the county of Louth, WITH THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS AT THEIR HEAD, declare as follows, "that the allowing to Roman Catholics the right

"of voting for Members to serve in Parliament, or admitting "them to any participation in the Government of the king- "dom, *is incompatible with the safety of the Protestant esta- "blishment, the continuance of the succession to the Crown in "the illustrious House of Hanover, and must finally tend to "shake, if not destroy our connection with Great Britain, on "the continuance and inseparability of which depends the happi- "ness and prosperity of this kingdom;* that they will oppose "every attempt towards such a dangerous innovation, and "that they will support with their lives and fortunes the pre- "sent Constitution, *and the settlement of the Throne on his "Majesty's Protestant House.*"

To such an attack this Committee would disdain to give an answer, were it not for the insinuation, that it is their wish to "*shake, if not destroy, the connection with Great Britain,*" and that their emancipation is "*incompatible with the continu- "ance of the succession to the Crown in the Illustrious House of "Hanover.*"

For the loyalty of the Catholics of Ireland, they appeal to their uniform conduct from the Revolution to this hour, a period of 104 years, through two rebellions in Great Britain, and five foreign wars, during which time no one has ventured to impeach that conduct, until this most unjust and unwarrantable attack. The Catholics of Ireland are as loyal as the Grand Jury of the county of Louth, or as the foreman of that jury; they would, perhaps, be as ready to testify their loyalty through danger, or through death, as the loudest of their calumniators; they have lives and fortunes to devote to the service of their King and country, but they would scorn to prostitute them to the unworthy purpose of holding their brethren in chains. They are attached to the connection with Great Britain, because they feel the benefit of that connection; and they furnish, in consequence, their full quota to the support of the common cause: The fleets and armies of the empire are supplied by their numbers; the revenue of their country supported by their contributions. But, if their loyalty were to be sapped, or their attachment to England perverted, what way could be devised more likely to shake the one, or eradicate the other, than a sentence like that of the Grand Jury of the county of Louth, which tells them at once, that liberty to Catholics

is incompatible with their loyalty to their King, or their connection with Great Britain? God forbid the question were ever to be reduced to the dreadful alternative of slavery or resistance. The man who would present it to their option in that shape, is at once the enemy of liberty and loyalty, of the King and of the Catholics.

The pride and glory of the Constitution of England is, that the just prerogative of the Crown is perfectly compatible with the liberty of the subject. Is the power of the Crown in Ireland only to be maintained by the degradation and slavery of the great body of the people? It is not wise to drive the question to such extremity.

But the Catholics of Ireland well know the treachery which lurks beneath this false imputation on their loyalty. They well know their attachment to the Crown, as recognized by the Constitution. They know the object of their pursuit is no question between the King and the people, but between the people and the few monopolists, whose power and pre-eminence exist by their slavery, who wish to cover their peculation beneath the sacred shelter of the Throne, and to prostitute the Majesty of the royal name by holding it forth as the signal of oppression to the subject. The dishonest artifice will not avail. The people will separate a gracious Monarch, the father of his people, from the arrogant monopolist, whose power is maintained by their depression—they will, as they have ever done, preserve their loyalty inviolate, but they will steadily persevere in the pursuit of their emancipation.

The freeholders of the county of Limerick charge the Committee with an "intention to *overawe the Legislature*, to *force* a "repeal of the penal laws, and to erect a Popish Democracy for "their Government and direction, in pursuit of whatever ob-"jects may be held out to *them by turbulent and seditious men.*" They then instruct their representatives in Parliament, "AT "ALL EVENTS, to oppose any proposition which may be made "for extending to Catholics the right of elective franchise," thereby confirming, as far as in them lies, the principle of perpetual and hopeless exclusion; and this meeting, publishing those resolutions, is dignified by the presence of no less a personage than THE LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF IRELAND.

The Corporation of Dublin, in a long manifesto, wherein they in terms deny the competency of Parliament to extend the right of franchise to the Catholics, which they choose to call "alienating their most valuable inheritance," and more than insinuate their determination to resist by force such a measure if attempted, roundly assert that "the last session of Parliament left the Roman Catholics in no wise different from their "Protestant fellow subjects, *save only in the exercise of political "power.*" The truth or falsehood of that assertion will best appear from a short view of the actual state of that body at this day.

The Catholics of Ireland may not found nor endow any university, college, or school, for the education of their children; neither can they obtain degrees in the University of Dublin, being prohibited by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

The child of a Catholic, on conforming to the Protestant religion, may file a bill in chancery, grounded on the statute of the 8*th Anne, ch.* iii. against the parent, and compel such parent, by the process of that court, to confess, upon oath, the quantity and value of the *goods and personal chattels* of such parent, over and above debts contracted *bona fide* for valuable consideration before the conformity. Upon this conformity, the court is empowered to seize upon, and allocate, for the *immediate maintenance* of such child, any sum not exceeding one *third* of the said *goods* and *personal chattels.* This *third* for *immediate maintenance;* but as to *future establishment,* upon the death of the parent, no limits whatever are assigned by the statute; the Chancellor may, if he thinks fit, take the whole of such property, money, stock in trade, or agriculture, out of the hands of the possessor, and secure it in any manner he may think expedient for that purpose, the act not having any sort of limit with regard to the quantity of such property which is to be so charged, nor having given any sort of direction concerning the means of charging or securing it! But the policy of the legislature was not yet exhausted.

Because there was a possibility that the parent, though sworn, and otherwise compellable, might, by *false representations,* evade the discovery of the ultimate value of such property on the *first* bill, *new* bills may be brought at any time, by any, or by all

the children, for a further discovery; *such* property of the parent is to undergo a fresh scrutiny, and in consequence of such scrutiny, a new distribution is to be made; the parent can have no security against the vexation of reiterated chancery suits, and continual dissection of *such* his property, but by doing what must be confessed is somewhat difficult to human feelings, by fully, and without reserve, abandoning *such* property (which may be his *whole)* to be disposed of at the discretion of such a court in favor of such children. Is this enough; and has the parent purchased his repose by the total surrender for once of *such* effects? very far from it; the law expressly and carefully provides that he shall not; for, as in the former case a *concealment* of any part of *such* effects is made the equitable ground of a *new* bill, so here any *increase* of them is made a second ground of equity; for the children are authorized, if they can find that their parent has, by his industry, or otherwise, acquired any property since their first bill, to bring others compelling a fresh account, and another distribution of the increased substance proportioned to its value at the time that the new bill is preferred. They may bring such bills *toties quoties*, upon every improvement of such property by the parent, without any sort of limitation of time, of the number of such bills, or the quantity of increase in the estate, which may justify the bringing them; in short, the law has provided, by a multiplicity of regulations, that the parent shall have no respite from the persecution of his children, but by totally abandoning not only all his present *goods and personal chattels, but every hope of increase and future improvement of such property.* It is very well worth remarking, that the law has purposely avoided to determine any age for these emancipating conversions, so that the children, at any age, however in all other respects incapable of choice, however immature or even infantine, are yet considered as sufficiently capable of disinheriting their parents, if the expression may be allowed, and of subtracting themselves from their direction and control. By this part of the law, the value of Roman Catholics in their *goods* and *personal chattels* is rendered extremely limited and altogether precarious, the paternal authority in such families undermined, and love and gratitude, dependence and protection, almost extinguished.

Catholics, as non-freemen, are excluded from all municipal stations, and are further liable to divers taxes and imposts in all Guilds and corporate towns, which gives an undue preference to those who are exempt therefrom, injuring the fair competition of trade, creating a distinction uniformly operating to the disfavor of the Catholics, and thereby preventing their being able to meet their Protestant brethren in business, on a footing of equality.

It is unlawful for Catholics not only to carry, but to have in their possession arms for the defence of their families, properties, and persons, whereby they are exposed, unprotected, to all manner of violence; and this most unjust prohibition is enforced by means still more unjust and unconstitutional, whereby severe penalties, without any regard to proportion, are inflicted; new modes of inquisition are enjoined, the largest powers are vested in the lowest magistrates, any justice of the peace, or any magistrate of a city or town corporate, with *or without information*, by themselves or by their warrant, at their discretion, whenever they think proper, at any hour of the day, *or night*, are empowered *forcibly* to enter and search the house of any Catholic, or of any Protestant, whom they *suspect* to keep arms in trust for a Catholic. This they may do at their discretion; and it seems a pretty ample power to be vested in the hands of that class of magistrates.

Besides the discretionary and occasional search, the law has prescribed one that is general and periodical. It is to be made annually, under the warrant of justices of peace and magistrates of corporations, by the high and petty constables, and others whom they choose to authorize, with all the powers, and with the same circumstances in every respect, which attend the discretionary and occasional search.

Not trusting, however, to the activity of the magistrates proceeding officially, the law has invited voluntary informers by the distribution of considerable rewards, and even pressed involuntary informers into the service by the dread of very heavy penalties. With regard to the latter method, justices of the peace and magistrates of the corporations are empowered to summon before them any person whatsoever, and to tender to him an oath by which they oblige him to discover concerning all persons, without distinction of propinquity or connection,

who have any arms concealed contrary to law, and even whether he himself has any; his refusal to appear, or appearing, his refusal to discover and inform, subjects him to *fine and imprisonment, or* such *corporal punishment* of *pillory* or *whipping* as the *court* shall, in its *discretion*, think proper. Thus, all persons, peers, and peeresses, Protestants as well as Catholics, may be summoned to perform this honorable service by the bailiff of a corporation of a few straggling cottages, or refusing to perform it, are liable to be fined and imprisoned, pilloried or whipt. The punishment for the first offence in *peers* and *peeresses*, IF NOT PILLORIED OR WHIPT, is 300*l.* and for the second offence, the punishment is no less than the penalties of a person attainted in a premunire, that is, "the offender shall be out of the "King's protection, and his or her lands and tenements, goods "and chattels, forfeited to the King; and his or her body shall "remain in prison at the King's pleasure." The punishment for the offence in *persons of an inferior order*, IF NOT PILLORIED OR WHIPT, is (without any consideration of what their substance may be) 50*l.* and one year's imprisonment, and for the second offence they are subject to the penalties of a person attainted of a premunire.

Catholics may not hold, nor enjoy, any place or office of trust or emolument, whatsoever, civil or military, even to the lowest; by which universal proscription, all persons of a liberal condition amongst them are ignominiously degraded, and precluded from devoting their talents or their lives to the service and protection of their King and country. A Catholic gentleman is as much excluded from bearing the colors of a regiment, as from the station of Captain General of all his Majesty's armies, and is no more qualified to be a gunner's mate, than to be Lord High Admiral of the fleet; and this exclusion is the more severely felt by them, because the ranks of the army are filled, and the navy, in a manner, supplied by their numbers, who, partaking in all that is painful, laborious, and dangerous, are shut out from every thing that is lucrative, splendid, or honorable. And, in the civil department, this exclusion is equally unjust, inasmuch as the Catholics contribute largely to the revenue and support of his Majesty's Government in Ireland, no portion of which contribution ever returns to them; wherein they very materially differ from, and are inferior to, their Pro-

testant brethren, who, in contributing to the exigencies of the state, are reimbursed through a thousand channels, by the variety of lucrative offices and appointments in the various civil departments, distributed solely amongst them, and to the utter exclusion of the Catholics, from whom wealth flows to the Government in a perpetual stream, never to return. And this monopolizing spirit of exclusion depresses the genius and talents, and degrades the mind of the nation, by entirely suppressing all honorable emulation, and extinguishing, in the breasts of three millions of people, every hope of advancement, honor, or fortune, through any degree of merit or endowment.

Catholics may not serve on any jury in a civil action, where one of the parties is a Protestant; contrary to the spirit of the laws of England, which exceed all others in the precautions they take against judicial partiality, manifested by the wise and equitable regulations which they ordain to secure, as far as human wisdom can, the most perfect indifference between the parties, and to remove the possibility of a bias operating to the injury of either.

Catholics may not serve on any jury in trials by information or indictment, grounded on any of the penal statutes, contrary to the known humanity of the law which respects even the prejudices of a culprit in his choice of the men who are to pass in judgment upon him; in all criminal cases, the exactest sympathy in rank, condition, and even the relation of vicinage, with the party accused, is, as far as possible, preserved. Foreigners may demand, of right, that half their jury shall be foreigners; not so the Catholics of Ireland. The same law which made them aliens in their native land, deprived them of the privileges of aliens.

Catholics are excluded from serving on grand juries, whereby they are, in a great degree, deprived of the grand palladium of the Constitution, trial by their Peers, not to mention the injustice of their property being taxed, by a body of which the law has taken care that they shall never form a part. This exclusion the Catholics particularly feel as a grievance; and their anxiety will not, perhaps, be thought unreasonable, by any who shall consider the spirit of the resolutions put forth by the late grand juries of Ireland, and referred to in this publication; without appearing to feel an unmanly anxiety for either life or

property, the Catholics of Ireland may be allowed to apprehend a possibility of danger to both, from the unqualified and unrestrained exertion of judicial authority, by men, who, in the very outset, display a spirit of such determined animosity.

But there remains one disqualification yet unmentioned, which the Catholics of Ireland feel more severely than all others; they are excluded from the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the Constitution, which says that no man shall be taxed when he is not represented actually or virtually, nor bound by laws to which he has not assented, by himself or his representative. And this unjust exclusion is not merely the violation of a theory, but an actual and substantial grievance: for though not to have the right of voting excites, in itself, no degree of horror, yet, in this country, in a thousand instances, when combined with its attendant circumstances, it implies distress, ejectment, nakedness, cold and hunger. In every county, where electioneering contests recur, it continually happens that Catholic tenants are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled and thrown upon the world with their miserable families, to make room for Protestant freeholders, whose votes may support the consequence of their landlords; unless when the unhappy wretches, balancing between spiritual danger and temporal destruction, prefer perjury to famine, and take oaths which they do not believe—a violation of moral principle which tends to bring equal scandal on the religion which they quit, and that which they seem to adopt, and, by loosing the sacred obligation of an oath, opens a wide inlet to a thousand enormities, and, independent of the moral turpitude induced by those occasional conformities which disgrace the return of every general election, the agricultural improvement of the country is very materially impeded by this uncertainty of possession to Catholics, who are thereby prevented from cultivating or improving their farms, to the extent they otherwise might and would; and further, in every department wherein favor or preference can be shown, as in presentments for roads, and a variety of other modes, they find the want of that protection, which a vote gives to him who possesses it; so that, in many essential points, the most respectable Catholic can scarcely be said to be on an equal footing with the most obscure Protestant forty shilling freeholder; and further, the administration of justice, in a variety of subor-

dinate cases, which, though too minute to enter superior courts, are yet of infinite importance to the poor, the great majority of the nation, is exposed to a bias which must have some influence on the purest minds. For, in a country like Ireland, where election interest is an object so earnestly sought after and so diligently cultivated, an uniformly impartial distribution of justice between two parties, one possessing the whole franchise, from which the other is totally excluded, is a circumstance rather to be hoped than expected; it is a temptation to petty injustice to which a good man should not be exposed, and with which a bad man should not be entrusted.

Such is the situation of three millions of good and faithful subjects in their native land! Excluded from every trust, power, or emolument of the state, civil or military; excluded from all the benefits of the Constitution in all its parts; excluded from all corporate rights and immunities, repelled from Grand Juries; restrained in Petit Juries; excluded from every direction, from every trust, from every incorporated society, from every establishment, occasional or fixed, instituted for public defence, public police, public morals, or public convenience; from the Bench, from the Bank, from the Exchange, from the University, from the College of Physicians; from what are they not excluded? There is no institution which the wit of man has invented, or the progress of society produced, which private charity or public munificence has founded for the advancement of education, learning, and good arts; for the permanent relief of age, infirmity, or misfortune, from the superintendence of which, and in all cases where common charity would permit, from the enjoyment of which the Legislature has not taken care to exclude the Catholics of Ireland. Such is the state which the Corporation of Dublin have thought proper to assert "differs, in no respect, from that of the Protestants, save only in the exercise of political power;" and the host of Grand Juries consider as "essential to the existence of the "Constitution, to the permanency of the connection with En-"gland, and the continuation of the Throne in his Majesty's "Royal House." A greater libel on the Constitution, the connection, or the succession, could not be pronounced, nor one more pregnant with dangerous and destructive consequences, than this which asserts that they are only to be maintained and con-

tinued by the slavery and oppression of three millions of good and loyal subjects.

It is the duty of the General Committee to reply to those of the objections made against their present proceedings which appear to have any weight: In the first place, it is asserted that they are "a Popish Congress, formed for the purpose of overawing the Legislature." Without descending to observe on the invidious appellation of "*a Popish Congress,*" they consider the intention to overawe Parliament as the substantial part of the charge. Against the truth of this accusation they do most solemnly protest. They utterly abjure, disclaim, and renounce the holding such an intention; and they call upon their enemies to point out the word, action, or publication, of the Catholics of Ireland, which can, before rational and dispassionate minds, be construed to bear such an absurd and wicked import. If none such can be shewn, if the conduct of the Catholics for a century past has been uniformly peaceable, dutiful, and submissive, they trust their views and motives will be fairly judged on their own merits, and not on forced constructions, unwarranted by the actions, and thus solemnly again disclaimed as the intention of the Committee.

They are charged with exciting discontent, tumult, and sedition. After the enumeration of grievances under which the Catholics of Ireland labor, it is attributing too much to this committee to say that they are the cause of the present discontents. As to tumult and sedition, they challenge those who make the assertion to show the instance. Where have there been riots, or tumults, or seditions, which can, in the most remote degree, be traced to the proceedings or publications of this Committee? They know too well how fatal to their hopes of emancipation any thing like disturbance must be. Independent of the danger to those hopes, it is more peculiarly their interest to preserve peace and good order than that of any body of men in the community. They have a large stake in the country, much of it vested in that kind of property which is most peculiarly exposed to danger from popular tumult. THE GENERAL COMMITTEE WOULD SUFFER MORE BY ONE WEEK'S DISTURBANCE THAN ALL THE MEMBERS OF THE TWO HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

But the most complete refutation of this unjust charge is the very measure which is made the pretence for bringing it for-

ward. When the humble petition already recited was, in the last session, presented to Parliament, it was rejected with circumstances of peculiar disgrace and ignominy ; and, as one reason for that rejection, it was insisted that the petitioners did not speak the sense of the Catholic body ; it therefore became necessary to ascertain what the sense of that body was. And the committee submit, whether a plan for collecting the general sentiment could be devised more quiet, peaceable, orderly, and efficacious, than summoning from each county and city of Ireland, the most respectable and intelligent gentlemen, who, from their situation and connections, best knew the wishes of their countrymen, and, from their property, must be most desirous and most capable of securing tranquillity and good order. But, in a case like the present, there is no argument so powerful as the fact. The choice of the Catholics *has been universally made without a single instance of irregularity or disorder.* There is more riot and disturbance in one day at a contested election for a common potwalloping borough, than occurred in choosing Delegates to this Committee from the thirty-two counties and every great city of this kingdom.

With regard to the apprehensions which are affected to be felt for the succession to the throne in his Majesty's Royal House, should the Catholics be restored to the right of franchise, they are too absurd to deserve any answer. The loyalty of this nation is well known ; they rest on that approved character, and on the oath of allegiance universally taken by their body. If they held that obligation light, they need not now come humbly suing for what they might demand as their right. The wisdom of their enemies has been able to devise no means more efficacious than an oath to exclude them from the blessings of the Constitution.

It is said that the plan for the formation of this Committee is unconstitutional. Before that assertion be received, let the situation of the Catholics of Ireland be considered ; groaning under the weight of a most severe and oppressive code, an universal system of pains and penalties, they yet possessed one privilege, which, in the general wreck and carnage of their rights, had fortunately escaped the sagacious and malignant vengeance of their persecutors. They retained the right to petition. But three millions of sufferers cannot, and if they could, ought not,

to meet for the purpose of stating their grievances and suing for redress; they must, therefore, either acquiesce without effort, or act by delegation, a mode not forbidden to any of his Majesty's subjects, and more emphatically allowable to the Catholics, inasmuch as they have no representatives in Parliament to whom they may apply. If this mode be forbidden them, they have no other whereby they can act with effect, and the obvious and certain consequence is, that they are, in fact, debarred from the common birthright of every subject, the great unalienable, indefeasible privilege, THE RIGHT TO PETITION THE LEGISLATURE FOR REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES.

Let it be determined who act most unconstitutionally: those who, selecting the discreetest members of their body, come humbly before the Throne and before Parliament, submitting their sufferings, and supplicating relief, or those who attempt to step in between the crown and the subject, the legislature and the people, and, erecting themselves into a kind of fourth estate, labor, as far as in them lies, to abrogate and destroy that sacred privilege inherent in the vitals of the Constitution, THE RIGHT TO PETITION.

It is asserted that the restoration of the right of franchise would throw into the hands of the Catholics the whole power of the state. Let it be remembered that the crown is unalterably Protestant; the Catholics in the House of Peers are so few in number, that danger from them is not to be apprehended, and that number can only be augmented at the will of the crown; that the number of Catholics who can at first have influence on the popular branch must be extremely small; that the increase to that number must principally accrue through the favor of the Protestants, in whose hands a great proportion of the landed property and all the boroughs and corporations are deposited; the whole patronage of the church, the law, the army, the revenue, through all their departments, are at the disposal of the Government of this country, which is Protestant; that this gradual and slow progress must wear away those relics of distinctions and dregs of animosities which yet remain, and which are fostered and cherished by the spirit of monopoly on the one hand, and the sense of depression on the other; that it is the continuance of those unjust exclusions which alone prevents the Protestants and Catholics of Ireland from becoming one people

in sentiment and in interest. To all this, let there be added the certainty of the immediate interference of England, so powerful and so near, should the Catholics attempt to assume, as is asserted, "the whole power of the state."

But the great test, experience, is the best proof of the futility of such an apprehension. The Catholics of Ireland were once in full possession of all privileges and franchises, including those of sitting and voting in Parliament; their numbers were then much greater, comparatively, than they now are; they possessed a very large proportion of the property of this country, at that time unbroken in upon by the force of penal laws, by the conformity of many of their ancient families, and by the legalized plunder of reiterated bills of discovery. In that situation, in the plenitude of their power, they were unable to prevent the passing of those very penal laws which have gradually deprived them of their property, of their civil rights, and more particularly of the elective franchise. Is it then likely, is it possible, that the restoration of those rights would enable them, in their weakness and depression, to extort what in their vigor and full possession they found themselves unable to retain?

But it is said that the Catholics should be "content with the "most perfect toleration of their religion, the fullest security "of their property, and the most complete personal liberty." With regard to toleration, persecution may be negative as well as positive. The deprivation of political rights, because of the exercise of any religion, is for so much a persecution of that religion. Of the security of their property enough has been already said to explain how Catholics stand in that respect; but, if it were otherwise, security of property and personal liberty are rights without a respect to which society could not be supported. Protection and allegiance are duties corresponding and inseparable. By their peaceable demeanor as good subjects, the Catholics have executed their part of the contract, and that Government, to whose support they contribute, *is bound*, in return, to defend them. And it is humbly submitted whether it be not a strong and striking proof of the abject state of the Catholics of Ireland, that it should be held out to them as ground for acquiescence and contentment, that they cannot be robbed without redress, or imprisoned with impunity; or, in other words, that without any alleged delinquency on their part, they are

treated as outlaws in their native land. Even the security and toleration which it is alleged they possess, they hold but by sufferance; for, unconnected as the Catholics are with the legislature, they can have no influence; and it is again submitted to the feelings of our Protestant brethren, whether they would be content to hold their religion, liberty, and property, by so precarious a tenure, as the humanity of men who owe them no responsibility, over whose conduct they had no control, and whose interests, or whose passions, might be gratified by an invasion of their dearest rights.

The Committee have hitherto confined themselves to the abstract merits of their case, but they have other arguments to allege. By the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, at least a very considerable part of the Catholics of Ireland, on condition of their surrendering to the Generals of King William, that city, and above one third of this kingdom, then in their hands, and which they were in a condition well to have maintained, were secured in "all and every their estates of freehold and inheritance; and "all the rights, titles, interests, privileges, and immunities, "which they and every or any of them held, enjoyed, or were "rightfully and lawfully entitled to in the reign of King Charles "II, or at any time since." And this treaty was confirmed with as much solemnity as any in the records of history, by the Lords Justices of Ireland, by King William and Queen Mary, and finally by Parliament, whereby the public faith was pledged in the strongest and most binding manner. Yet, notwithstanding this solemn and sacred obligation, a multiplicity of cruel, unjust, and tyrannical laws, have, from time to time, been enacted, many of which are still in full force and vigor, abolishing and restraining the rights and privileges of all Catholics, indiscriminately and without distinction, and more particularly depriving them of the elective franchise. And this glaring infraction of the law of nations, and of the first principles of natural justice, a violation which should call down the vengeance of Heaven on the heads of those guilty thereof, was perpetrated in an hour of full and perfect security, as a wanton act of power, and without any delinquency, alleged or proved, on the part of the Catholics, to afford a pretext for so infamous and notorious a dereliction of every thing like public principle or national honor. And the Committee are well warranted in asserting this, inas-

much as the Catholics have, in the surrender of Limerick and their arms, and by their peaceable and dutiful deportment as good and loyal subjects from that hour to the present, faithfully and religiously observed, on their part, a treaty so solemnly entered into and so speedily and so unprovokedly violated on the part of their adversaries.

And now that the General Committee have fairly and fully exposed the conduct, the motives, and the principles of the Catholics of Ireland, they conclude, with a most sincere and earnest entreaty to every member of their communion, carefully to abstain from any act which, however remotely, can tend to riot or disorder. After a century of unvarying good conduct, through the most severe oppression, the Committee relies that the Catholics will not now tarnish their character by any act of intemperance when the hour of their emancipation rapidly approaches. Professing their sincere attachment to the Constitution, as established in the three estates of King, Lords, and Commons, into which Constitution it is their highest ambition to be admitted, the cause of the Catholics is respectfully committed to the justice, humanity, and public spirit, of their countrymen.

APPENDIX—No. I.

GENERAL COMMITTEE,

DUBLIN, *March* 17, 1792.

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Whereas certain opinions and principles, inimical to good order and government, have been attributed to the Catholics, the existence of which we utterly deny; and whereas it is, at this time, peculiarly necessary to remove such imputations, and to give the most full and ample satisfaction to our Protestant brethren, that we hold no principle, whatsoever, incompatible with our duty as men or as subjects, or repugnant to liberty, whether political, civil, or religious:

Now, we, the Catholics of Ireland, for the removal of all such imputations, and in deference to the opinion of many respectable bodies of men and individuals among our Protestant brethren, do hereby, in the face of our country, of all Europe, and before God, make this our deliberate and solemn declaration:

1st. We abjure, disavow, and condemn the opinion, that Princes, excommunicated by the Pope and Council, *or by any ecclesiastical authority whatsoever*, may, therefore, be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other persons. We hold such doctrine in detestation, as wicked and impious: and we declare that we do not believe, that either the Pope, with, or without a General Council, or *any Prelate or Priest, or any ecclesiastical power whatsoever*, can absolve the subjects of this Kingdom, or any of them, from their allegiance to his Majesty King George III, who is, by authority of Parliament, the lawful King of this realm.

2d. We abjure, condemn, and detest, as unchristian and impious, the principle that it is lawful to murder, destroy, or any

ways injure any person whatsoever, for, or under the pretence of being heretics: and we declare solemnly before God, that we believe that *no act, in itself unjust, immoral, or wicked, can ever be justified or excused by, or under pretence or color, that it was done either for the good of the church, or in obedience to any ecclesiastical power whatsoever.*

3d. We further declare, that we hold it as an unchristian and impious principle, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics." This doctrine we detest and reprobate, not only as *contrary* to our religion, but as destructive of morality, of society, and even of common honesty; and it is our firm belief, that an oath made to *any* person, not of the Catholic religion, is equally binding, as if it were made to any Catholic whatsoever.

4th. We have been charged with holding, as an article of our belief, that the Pope, with, or without the authority of a General Council, or that certain ecclesiastical powers, can acquit and absolve us, before God, from our oath of allegiance, or even from the just oaths and contracts entered into between man and man.

Now, we do utterly renounce, abjure, and deny, that we hold or maintain any such belief, as being contrary to the peace and happiness of society, inconsistent with morality, and, above all, *repugnant to the true spirit of the Catholic religion.*

5th. We do further declare, that we do not believe that the Pope of Rome, or any other Prince, Prelate, State, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence, directly, or indirectly, within this realm.

6th. After what we have renounced, it is immaterial, in a political light, what may be our opinion, or faith, in other points, respecting the Pope: however, for greater satisfaction, we declare, that it is *not* an article of the Catholic faith, neither are we thereby required to believe or profess "that the Pope is in-"fallible," or that we are bound to obey any order, in its own nature immoral, though the Pope, or any Ecclesiastical power, should issue or direct such order; but, *on the contrary*, we hold, that it would be *sinful* in us to pay any respect or obedience thereto.

7th. We further declare, that we do not believe that any sin, whatsoever, committed by us, can be forgiven at the mere will

of any Pope, or of any Priest, or of any person or persons whatsoever; but, that *sincere sorrow for past sins*, a firm and sincere resolution, as far as may be in our power, to restore our neighbor's property or character, if we have trespassed on, or unjustly injured either; *a firm and sincere resolution to avoid future guilt*, and to atone to God, are *previous and indispensable* requisites to establish a well-founded expectation of forgiveness; and that any person who receives absolution without these previous requisites, so far from obtaining, thereby, any remission of his sins, incurs the additional guilt of violating a sacrament.

8th. We do hereby solemnly disclaim, and for ever renounce all interest in, and title to, all forfeited lands, resulting from any rights, or supposed rights, of our ancestors, or any claim, title, or interest therein; nor do we admit any title, as a foundation of right, which is *not established and acknowledged by the laws of the realm, as they now stand.* We desire, further, that, whenever the patriotism, liberality, and justice of our countrymen, shall restore to us a participation in the elective franchise, no Catholic shall be permitted to vote at any election for members to serve in Parliament, unless he shall previously take an oath *to defend, to the utmost of his power*, the arrangement of property in this country, *as established by the different acts of attainder and settlement.*

9th. It has been objected to us, that we wish to subvert the present church establishment, for the purpose of substituting a Catholic establishment in its stead: Now, we do hereby disclaim, disavow, and solemnly abjure any such intention; and, further, if we shall be admitted into any share of the Constitution, by our being restored to the right of elective franchise, we are ready, in the most solemn manner, to declare, that we will not exercise that privilege to disturb and weaken the establishment of the Protestant religion, or Protestant Government in this country.

Signed by order, and on behalf of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, *Chairman.*

RICHARD M'CORMICK, *Secretary.*

APPENDIX—No. II.

At a meeting of the Sub-committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

EDWARD BYRNE, ESQ. in the chair,

Resolved, That the following letter be circulated :

SIR : This letter, with the plan which accompanies it, is transmitted to you by order of the Sub-committee. You will perceive that the object of this plan is to procure a fuller attendance of country gentlemen, to assist, by their advice and influence, the measures adopted by the Committee to procure for the Catholics the ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, and an equal participation in the benefits of the TRIAL BY JURY. You will please to lose no time in submitting this to the respectable Catholics of your county. You will please also to inform them, that several respectable independent country gentlemen, lately in Dublin, had frequent consultations, for the laudable purpose of re-uniting to the Committee Lord Fingal, and the other gentlemen who had withdrawn themselves from it. These country gentlemen had the satisfaction to find, that the General Committee on one side, and the gentlemen who had entered into separate addresses on the other, mutually regretted their division ; which they saw was used by the opponents of the Catholics, as a pretext for withholding from our people the elective franchise, and an equal participation of the benefits of the trial by jury. It is on all sides agreed, that, if the Catholics are ALL united in this just and reasonable request, essential to the very existence of our people, there will be a certainty of success. It depends, then, on ourselves, whether we shall be freemen, or slaves! We say, essential to the very existence of our people ; for, as the rage for electioneering interests increases, our wealthy farmers must either pay beyond the value for lands, or resign them to Protestant freeholders when out of lease ; our poorer yeomanry will, of course, be expelled, and driven into beggary. Let us all, then, speak with one voice, and supplicate the legislature for justice—and we shall receive it.

These independent country gentlemen have received from Lord Fingal, and the gentlemen who have acted with him, the most positive declarations, that they will never again enter into any act to oppose the General Committee in their endeavours to obtain the emancipation of the Catholics; and it is determined, that all former differences in opinion shall be buried in oblivion on both sides.

The Committee had decided to send some of their body to propose to the counties to appoint the Delegates to the Committee, of whose attendance there would be a certainty; and our Chairman had actually left Dublin, with intention to go through great part of Ireland for this purpose; the independent country gentlemen, as before mentioned, took up the same idea themselves, (before they knew the Committee had determined upon it,) and they and Lord Fingal and his friends, all agreed in pressing such a measure on the Committee, as an additional means of reuniting them to the body.

Lord Fingal, his friends, and the country gentlemen before mentioned, seemed at first inclined that the present Committee should be dissolved; an opinion, however, which further reflection on the various difficulties resulting from such a measure, the doubts entertained of the competency in the Committee to dissolve itself, and the consideration that a dissolution must necessarily occur early in 1793, induced them to forego.

The plan enclosed, sanctioned by the General Committee, by these independent gentlemen, and by Lord Fingal and his friends, is recommended to your zeal to have carried into immediate execution in your county.

Signed by order:
RICHARD M'CORMICK, *Secretary.*

On the manner of conducting the Election of Delegates.

It will be of great importance, in the present state of our affairs, that the Delegates be chosen in such a manner as to make it appear evident, that the nomination of such Delegates is authorized by *all the people.* But as it might be imprudent to call a meeting of all the Catholics of a county, for the purpose of

proceeding to such an election, it is therefore suggested, that one or two of the most respectable persons in each parish be appointed electors, at a meeting to be held at such *private house* in the parish, as may be most convenient to the inhabitants. These several electors, so appointed, may meet at any central place, for the purpose of choosing from one to four (as it may appear most expedient to them) of their own residents as Delegates to the General Committee; no one to be eligible who shall not solemnly promise to attend his duty in Dublin, when required to do so by order of the Committee, or at least, who shall not pledge himself to attend in his turn. It is also suggested that, in addition to the RESIDENT Delegates, each county do appoint at the same time, as associate Delegates for such county, one or two (as it may appear best to the electors) RESIDENT inhabitants of Dublin, whose business it shall be to keep up a regular correspondence with colleagues in the country, and to inform the county through them, of all proceedings in the General Committee, at such times as the county Delegates shall be absent. It is to be understood that attendance on the part of the county Delegates will not be required, except on important occasions. In this, however, they are to study their own convenience; if they all come often, we are persuaded that the Committee will derive satisfaction and profit from their presence and advice.

As soon as the gentlemen of your county, shall have appointed Delegates, it will be necessary to call THEIR attention to the first great business which shall probably engage the General Committee, viz: An humble application to our gracious Sovereign, submitting to him our loyalty and attachment, our obedience to the laws, a true statement of our situation, and of the laws which operate against us; and humbly beseeching, that we may be restored the ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, and an equal participation in the benefits of the TRIAL BY JURY. We have the FIRST AUTHORITY for asserting, that this application will have infinite weight with our gracious Sovereign and with Parliament, if our friends are qualified to declare, that it is the universal wish of EVERY Catholic in the Nation. To enable, therefore, your Delegates and the General Committee to succeed in your behalf, it will be necessary that the meeting en-

ter into resolutions in any words they choose, to the following effect:

At a meeting of the Catholics of the county of ——— regularly convened, this ——— day of ——— 1792, ——— in the Chair, ——— RESOLVED, That ——— of this county, and ——— of the city of Dublin, have been this day chosen by the Catholics of this county, as their Delegates to the General Committee.

Resolved, That it is our instruction to our said Delegates, to support in said Committee, as the voice of all the Catholics of this county, that an humble representation be made to our gracious Sovereign and to Parliament, of the many severe laws which oppress his Majesty's faithful subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no cause founded in wisdom or policy is assigned for their continuance; imploring it, as essential to our protection, and to secure an impartial distribution of justice in our favor, that we be restored to the ELECTIVE FRANCHISE, and an equal participation in the benefits of the TRIAL BY JURY.

According to its present form of Constitution, the General Committee is open not only to persons delegated by others, but to every Roman Catholic of landed property in the Kingdom. From this mixture of REPRESENTATIVE and PERSONAL association, inconveniences which every one may remember, but which at present it is useless to dwell on, have arisen. To guard against similar inconveniencies in future, we have recommended to your consideration the above sketch of a new system; the object of which is to give to the Committee somewhat more of a REPRESENTATIVE, and somewhat less of an INDIVIDUAL capacity: and we beg leave to offer to you the following observations in support of our plan.

Men appointed by others must hold themselves accountable to those from whom they derive their trust; and, therefore, must regulate their conduct by the standard of general opinion; or, if they be unwilling to take such a standard for their rule, and to obey the instructions of their constituents, they may be removed from the places they hold, to make room for others more practicable, and less inclined to set the dictates of private sentiment, or private interest, in opposition to the general will, and the public good. Under a system which is thus REPRESENTATIVE, and where the trust is revocable at pleasure, SEDUCTION

cannot be practised, nor can DIVISION again take place; or, at least, the remedy is so near the evil, that little danger is to be apprehended from either.

Our plan, by making attendance a duty, will, we apprehend, serve to bring a greater number of country gentlemen into the Committee than have formerly appeared among us. While admission remains so easy as it does at present, and while so many persons are exempted from responsibility and control, we have little reason to expect that country gentlemen will desert their homes and their immediate concerns, to promote an interest which is remotely or obscurely felt; but we hope that the honorable distinction of representing others, added to the obligation of a solemn promise, will not fail to reconcile those who shall happen to be delegated, to admit of some temporary hardships, in order to promote the public good. By collecting, occasionally, a number of country gentlemen in Dublin, we flatter ourselves that the Committee will be enabled to speak the sentiments of its constituent members with distinctness and precision; and that the country parts of the Kingdom will be provided with the surest means of acquiring whatever information may be necessary on the subject of Catholic affairs. From this prompt communication of opinion and intelligence, we foresee great advantages; advantages which, under the present system, are wholly beyond our reach; as the landed gentlemen are responsible only to themselves, and as the Dublin Delegates have frequently little knowledge of their constituents. The attendance of a great number of country gentlemen will justify such a reduction of the number of Delegates for the metropolis in the General Committee, as may be judged advisable; a measure which was always desirable, but which could not be heretofore accomplished, as the attendance of landed gentlemen was so uncertain and irregular.

Every endeavor should be used to cultivate and improve the friendship of our clergy. The clergy and laity, having but one interest, should have but one mind, and should, therefore, mutually combine their talents, their opinions, and their exertions, in order to effectuate our common emancipation. This union of sentiment and design, this interchange of counsel and of aid, will serve to strengthen the bonds of a common friendship, and will be the best security against innovation in matters which relate to religion.

The clergy, being the natural guardians of morality, will undoubtedly consent to co-operate with the laity, when they consider that the restoration of the elective franchise to the Catholic community will tend to prevent those perjuries which are so common at, and which disgrace the return of electioneering contests. By such conduct will the clergy secure to themselves that influence over the laity of their own persuasion, which it is useful that good clergy should have; and that respectability among persons of other persuasions, which must naturalty result from the increased importance of the people to whom they belong. It is unnecessary to point out the advantages which a restoration of the elective franchise would produce in our habits and modes of life; in the state of national as well as individual happiness. Let it suffice to say, that not only laymen, but every Catholic bishop and priest, would, by the acquisition of so valuable a privilege to the Catholic body at large, find his condition meliorated in a variety of shapes and circumstances, which cannot easily be reduced within the compass of exact calculation. The silent operation of this right would, in the lapse of time, contribute to raise a respectable yeomanry in the Kingdom; and this yeomanry, giving on the one hand a new infusion of vigor to the commonwealth, would, on the other, supply a fund, from which the clergy would derive the means of a more honorable support, and more proportionate to their uncommon labors and merits, than at present they enjoy.

When this plan shall have been adopted, and the returns in consequence made, the Committee will, in the course of next Winter, consider, as a measure of the last importance, what further improvements may be necessary in the mode of electing Delegates on future occasions, in order to secure a permanent, extensive, and effectual method of collecting the general sense of the Catholics of Ireland.

☞We beg leave to recommend it to you most earnestly, to carry the above plan into IMMEDIATE execution. It is of the utmost consequence that we should have this addition of country gentlemen as SOON AS POSSIBLE, in order to give due weight and efficacy to our humble application to the Throne, which we are ADVISED to make this Summer, before the Parliamentary arrangements are formed for the ensuing Winter.

As soon as your Delegates shall have been chosen, we request that you will make a return of their names, and address it to our Secretary, *Mr. Richard M'Cormick, Mark's-Alley, Dublin.*

SEPTEMBER 13, 1792.

At a meeting of the Sub-committee of the Catholics,

RANDAL M'DONNELL, ESQ. in the Chair.

The Sub-committee having seen, with great concern, a variety of publications, censuring the circular letter lately issued by them, said to be signed EDWARD BYRNE, and erroneously stated to be illegal and unconstitutional, have thought it their duty to submit that letter to the inspection of the Hon. SIMON BUTLER and BERESFORD BURSTON, Esq. two gentlemen of the first eminence in the profession, and who have the honor to be of his Majesty's Council.

The case and opinions of those gentlemen, which follow, will demonstrate that the Committee have taken no step whatsoever, which the laws and Constitution do not fully warrant.

CASE.

The Catholics of Ireland, laboring under laws by which they are deprived of every share in the Legislature, rendered incapable of serving their country in any office, civil or military, and deprived of an equal participation with their fellow-subjects of other persuasions, in the benefit of the trial by jury, are desirous of laying their grievances before the King and Parliament, and supplicating redress.

As the most effectual method of collecting the sense of the Catholic body, and laying it before the King and Parliament, a General Committee from that body was formed, for the purpose of making application to the Legislature, from time to time, on the subject of their grievance, and praying that redress, to which their loyalty and attachment to their Sovereign, and obedience to the laws, justly entitled them.

In the last session of Parliament, the General Committee, *as individuals*, did, on behalf of themselves and their brethren,

present a petition to Parliament, praying relief, which petition was, with circumstances of unprecedented severity, rejected; and, as one of the many causes of said rejection, it was alleged, that the persons whose names were affixed to said petition were a faction, unconnected with and incompetent to speak the sense of the Catholics of Ireland. In order to obviate every such objection in future, the General Committee framed a plan, which is sent herewith, for the purpose of procuring the attendance of such persons from each county as were best acquainted with the sentiments, and could best declare the voice of the Catholics of Ireland, who should be by them deputed as Delegates to the General Committee, with instructions to support, in the said Committee, as the voice of the Catholics, by whom they were deputed, "That an humble representation be "made to their gracious Sovereign, and to Parliament, of the "many severe laws which oppress his Majesty's faithful sub-"jects, the Catholics of Ireland, although no cause, founded "in wisdom or policy, is assigned for their continuance, implor-"ing it as essential to their protection, and to secure an impar-"tial distribution of justice in their favor, that they may be "restored to the *elective franchise*, and an equal participation "in the benefits of the *trial by jury*."

Charges and insinuations of a very heavy nature have been thrown out, and menaces used by many bodies of men, and individuals, to prevent the carrying the above plan into execution, under a pretence that it is contrary to law, and that the meeting projected therein would be a Popish Congress, formed for the purpose of overawing the Legislature.

The General Committee, abhorring, and utterly renouncing, such imputations, and desiring to regulate their conduct in strict conformity to law, request your opinion upon the following *queries:*

1st. Have his Majesty's subjects of Ireland, professing the Roman Catholic religion, a right to petition his Majesty and the Legislature for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants; and if not, wherein do they differ?

2d. If they have this right, may they lawfully choose delegates, for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same, in a peaceable and respectful manner; and if they may not, by what law or statute are they forbidden to do so?

3d. Is a meeting for the purpose of choosing such delegates, an unlawful assembly; and if not an unlawful assembly, has any Magistrate or other person, by or under pretence of the riot act, or any other, and what statute, a right to disperse said meeting?

4th. What is the legal mode of presenting petitions to the Legislature in Ireland; and is there any, and what statute upon that point, in this country?

5th. Is the plan sent, herewith, agreeable to law? if not, wherein is it contrary thereto, and to what penalties would persons become subject, who should carry, or attempt to carry, the same into effect?

Counsel will please to state the authorities upon which he grounds his opinion.

Answer to the 1st Question.

I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that all and every his Majesty's subjects, of this Kingdom, of every persuasion, Roman Catholic as well as Protestant, have *an unalienable right to petition*, in a peaceable manner, the King, or either House of Parliament, for redress of grievances, be those grievances real or imaginary.—1st Black. Comm. 143.

Answer to the 2d Question.

I am clearly and decidedly of opinion, that Roman Catholics have, equally with Protestants, *a right to choose delegates* for the purpose of framing such petition, and presenting the same in a peaceable and respectful manner to the Legislature, and that they are *not forbidden so to do by any law or statute whatsoever.*—Delegation has always been considered not only as the most effectual mode of obtaining the general sense, but also as the best security against tumult and disturbance.

Answer to the 3d Question.

I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that a peaceable meeting for the purpose of choosing such delegates, is *a lawful assembly*, and that *no magistrate* or other person, by or under pretence of *the riot act* or any other statute, *has a right to dis-*

perse such meeting.—The assembly which may be dispersed under authority of the riot act, must be unlawful, riotous, tumultuous, and in disturbance of the public peace. The act is inoperative upon an assembly that is lawful; and I feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that an obstruction of the peaceable exercise of an unalienable right of the subject, is *a misdemeanor of the greatest magnitude*, and that any person charged with the guilt thereof, be his rank or station what it may, is indictable, and, if found guilty by his country, liable to be fined and imprisoned; and I also feel no difficulty in declaring my opinion, that publications charging the General Committee with exciting, in the instance before us, unlawful assemblies for seditious purposes, are *libels, and, as such, are indictable and actionable.*

Answer to the 4th Question.

By the English statute of the 1st William and Mary, st. 2. ch. II. commonly called the Bill of Rights, and which being a law declaratory of the rights of the subject, is, therefore, of force in Ireland, it is declared "that *all* subjects have a right to petition the King, and that *all* commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are *illegal.*" Notwithstanding the Bill of Rights is general, and does not specify any regulations or restrictions, yet the Court of King's Bench in England, in the case of the King against Lord George Gordon, Douglass 571, thought proper to deliver an opinion, that it did not repeal the English act of the 13th Car. II. st. 1, ch. 5, which enacted, "that no petition to the King, or either House of Parliament, for any alteration in church or state, shall be signed by above twenty persons, unless the matter thereof be approved by three justices of the peace, or the major part of the grand jury, in the county; and in London, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council. Nor shall any petition be presented by more than ten persons at a time." Under the above authority, therefore, the right of petitioning *in England* is subject to the regulations and restrictions laid upon it by that act of Charles II. But as neither the act of Charles, nor any one similar to it, is in force in Ireland, the right of the Irish subject to petition their legislature is *not subject to any regulation or restriction whatsoever*, save only that due care must be taken, lest, under the pre-

tence of petitioning, the subject be guilty of any riot or tumult. I am, therefore, of opinion, that *no particular mode* of presenting petitions to the Legislature of Ireland is pointed out by any law or statute of force in this kingdom. It is to be observed, that in the last sessions of Parliament, a great concourse of people assembled in the Park, framed a petition, and deputed a very large number of their body to present it to the House of Lords; the Lord Chancellor, in observing upon the petition, did not charge the petitioners with any illegality, either in assembling to frame, or in presenting the petition, but, on the contrary, his Lordship was pleased to commend them for the peaceable manner in which they deported themselves. The success which attended the petition is in the recollection of most people.

Answer to the 5th Question.

I am also clearly and decidedly of opinion, that THE PLAN IS IN EVERY RESPECT AGREEABLE TO LAW, and that persons peaceably carrying, or attempting to carry the same into effect, would *not* thereby incur *any penalty whatsoever*. The plan is, indeed, unexceptionable; while it serves effectually to obtain the general sense of the great Catholic body of Ireland, it provides every precaution against tumult and disturbance.

SIMON BUTLER.

September 3, 1792.

I. His Majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion, have, in my opinion, a right to petition his Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, or any of them, for the redress of grievances, equally with Protestants.

II. As they have this right, it follows, as I conceive, that, where the grievance complained of affects the whole body, they have also a right to collect the sense of every individual of that body; but as the assembling them all for that purpose would be inconvenient, imprudent, and perhaps dangerous, I think the sense of the whole may be collected from a smaller number, delegated by them for that purpose, who may frame and present such petition; and I know of no principle of the common law, nor of any statute, by which they are forbidden to do so; it being always supposed that these proceedings are carried on in a peaceable and respectful manner.

III. I do not apprehend that a number of Roman Catholics, meeting in a private, peaceable, and quiet manner, for the sole purpose of declaring their sense of the alleged grievances, and their desire of petitioning the Legislature for redress, and of choosing out of themselves, one or more, to assist in framing and presenting such petition, can be considered as an unlawful assembly; and I do not think that any magistrate, or other person, by, or under pretence of, the Riot Act, or any other act that I am acquainted with, would have a right to disperse such meeting.

IV. I do not know of any statute in this kingdom which regulates the mode of presenting petitions to the Legislature of this kingdom. The English statute of the 13th Car. II. st. V. ch. 2d. has not been enacted here, that I know of; but the general law of the land requires that the petition should be presented in the most respectful and peaceable manner. The intended petition, as I apprehend, should be entitled the petition of his Majesty's subjects of Ireland professing the Roman Catholic religion; and should be signed by a few of the Roman Catholics of each county and principal city in Ireland, on behalf of themselves and their Roman Catholic brethren of that county or city. According to the forms of Parliament here, the petition must be presented to each House, by a member of that House. In presenting the petition to his Majesty, which may be either to himself in person, or through the medium of the Lord Lieutenant, it would, I think, be prudent to follow the directions of the English statute abovementioned, and that not more than ten persons should present it.

V. From what I have already said, I must be of opinion, that the plan sent herewith to me, is not contrary to law; and I cannot conceive that persons carrying, or attemping to carry, it into effect, peaceably and quietly, would become subject to any penalties.

I have grounded my opinion upon the conception I have formed of the law and Constitution of this kingdom, from that general research which my profession has led me to make into their principles; I have not, therefore, any authorities to state.

BERESFORD BURSTON.

13*th September*, 1792.

PETITION OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

January 2, 1793.

Mr. Byrne, Mr. Keogh, Mr. Devereux, Mr. Bellew, and Sir Thomas French, the gentlemen delegated by the Catholics of Ireland, attended the levee at St. James's, and had the honor to present the humble petition of that body to his Majesty, who was pleased to receive it most graciously.

The delegates were introduced by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Secretary of State for the Home Department.

The following is a correct copy of the petition:

To the King's most excellent Majesty:

The humble petition of the undersigned Catholics, on behalf of themselves and the rest of his Catholic subjects of the kingdom of Ireland.

Most Gracious Sovereign: We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects of your kingdom of Ireland, professing the Catholic religion, presume to approach your Majesty, who are the common father of all your people, and humbly to submit to your consideration the manifold incapacities and oppressive disqualifications under which we labor.

For, may it please your Majesty, after a century of uninterrupted loyalty, in which time five foreign wars and two domestic rebellions have occurred; after having taken every oath of allegiance and fidelity to your Majesty, and given, and being still ready to give, every pledge which can be devised for their peaceable demeanor and unconditional submission to the laws, the Catholics of Ireland stand obnoxious to a long catalogue of statutes, inflicting on dutiful and meritorious subjects pains and penalties of an extent and severity, which scarce any degree of delinquency can warrant, and prolonged to a period when no necessity can be alleged to justify their continuance.

In the first place, we beg leave, with all humility, to represent to your Majesty, that, notwithstanding the lowest depart-

ments in your Majesty's fleets and armies are largely supplied by our numbers, and your revenue in this country to a great degree supported by our contributions, we are disabled from serving your Majesty in any office of trust and emolument whatsoever, civil or military; a proscription which disregards capacity or merit; admits of neither qualification nor degree, and rests as an universal stigma of distrust upon the whole body of your Catholic subjects.

We are interdicted from all municipal stations and the franchise of all guilds and corporations; and our exclusion from the benefits annexed to those situations is not an evil terminating in itself; for, by giving an advantage over us to those in whom they are exclusively vested, they establish, throughout the kingdom, a species of qualified monopoly, uniformly operating in our disfavor, contrary to the spirit, and highly detrimental to the freedom of trade.

We may not found nor endow any university, college, or school, for the education of our children, and we are interdicted from obtaining degrees in the University of Dublin by the several charters and statutes now in force therein.

We are totally prohibited from keeping or using weapons for the defence of our houses, families, or persons, whereby we are exposed to the violence of burglary, robbery, and assassination; and to enforce this prohibition, contravening that great original law of nature, which enjoins us to self-defence, a variety of statutes exist, not less grievous and oppressive in their provisions than unjust in their object; by one of which, enacted so lately as within these sixteen years, every of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, of whatever rank or degree, peer or peasant, is compellable by any magistrate to come forward and convict himself of what may be thought a singular offence in a country professing to be free—keeping arms for his defence; or, if he shall refuse so to do, may incur not only fine and imprisonment, but the vile and ignominious punishment of the pillory and whipping—penalties appropriated to the most infamous malefactors, and more terrible to a liberal mind than death itself.

No Catholic whatsoever, as we apprehend, has his personal property secure. The law allows and encourages the disobedient and unnatural child to conform and deprive him of it: the unhappy father does not, even by the surrender of his all, pur-

chase his repose; he may be attacked by new bills, if his future industry be successful, and again be plundered by due process of law.

We are excluded, or may be excluded, from all petit juries, in civil actions, where one of the parties is a Protestant; and we are further excluded from all petit juries in trials by information or indictment, founded on any of the Popery laws, by which law we most humbly submit to your Majesty, that your loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland, are in this their native land, in a worse situation than that of aliens, for they may demand an equitable privilege denied to us, of having half their jury aliens like themselves.

We may not serve on grand juries, unless, which it is scarcely possible can ever happen, there should not be found a sufficiency of Protestants to complete the pannel; contrary to that humane and equitable principle of the law, which says that no man shall be convicted of any capital offence, unless by the concurring verdicts of two juries of his neighbors and equals; whereby, and to this we humbly presume more particularly to implore your royal attention, we are deprived of the great palladium of the constitution, trial by our peers, independent of the manifest injustice of our property being taxed in assessments by a body from which we are formally excluded.

We avoid a further enumeration of inferior grievances; but, may it please your Majesty, there remains one incapacity, which your loyal subjects the Catholics of Ireland feel with most poignant anguish of mind, as being the badge of unmerited disgrace and ignominy, and the cause and bitter aggravation of all our other calamities: we are deprived of the elective franchise, to the manifest perversion of the spirit of the constitution, inasmuch as your faithful subjects are thereby taxed where they are not represented, actually or virtually, and bound by laws, in the framing of which, they have no power to give or withhold their assent; and we most humbly implore your Majesty to believe, that this, our prime and heavy grievance, is not an evil merely speculative, but is attended with great distress to all ranks, and, in many instances, with the total ruin and destruction of the lower orders of your Majesty's faithful and loyal subjects, the Catholics of Ireland; for, may it please your Majesty, not to mention the infinite variety of advantages, in point of protection

and otherwise, which the enjoyment of the elective franchise gives to those who possess it, nor the consequent inconveniences to which those who are deprived thereof are liable, not to mention the disgrace to three fourths of your loyal subjects of Ireland of living the only body of men incapable of franchise, in a nation possessing a free constitution, it continually happens, and, of necessity, from the malignant nature of the law, must happen, that multitudes of the Catholic tenantry, in divers counties in this kingdom, are, at the expiration of their leases, expelled from their tenements and farms, to make room for Protestant freeholders, who, by their votes, may contribute to the weight and importance of their landlords: a circumstance which renders the recurrence of a general election—that period which is the boast and laudable triumph of our Protestant brethren—a visitation and heavy curse to us, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects. And may it please your Majesty, this uncertainty of possession to your Majesty's Catholic subjects, operates as a perpetual restraint and discouragement on industry and the spirit of cultivation, whereby it happens that this your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, possessing many and great natural advantages of soil and climate, so as to be exceeded therein by few, if any, countries on the earth, is yet prevented from availing herself thereof so fully as she otherwise might, to the furtherance of your Majesty's honor, and the more effectual support of your service.

And may it please your Majesty, the evil does not even rest here; for many of your Majesty's Catholic subjects, to preserve their families from total destruction, submit to a nominal conformity, against their conviction and their conscience; and, preferring perjury to famine, take oaths which they utterly disbelieve: a circumstance which, we doubt not, will shock your Majesty's well known and exemplary piety, not less than the misery which drives those unhappy wretches to so desperate a measure, must distress and wound your royal clemency and commiseration.

And may it please your Majesty, though we might here rest our case on its own merits, justice, and expediency, yet we further presume humbly to submit to your Majesty, that the right of franchise was, with divers other rights, enjoyed by the Catholics of this kingdom, from the first adoption of the English

constitution by our forefathers; was secured to at least a great part of our body by the treaty of Limerick, in 1691, guaranteed by your Majesty's royal predecessors, King William and Queen Mary, and finally confirmed and ratified by Parliament; notwithstanding which, and in direct breach of the public faith of the nation, thus solemnly pledged, for which our ancestors paid a valuable consideration, in the surrender of their arms, and a great part of this kingdom, and notwithstanding the most scrupulous adherence, on our part, to the terms of the said treaty, and our unremitting loyalty from that day to the present, the said right of elective franchise was finally and universally taken away from the Catholics of Ireland, so lately as the first year of his Majesty King George the Second.

And when we thus presume to submit this infraction of the treaty of Limerick to your Majesty's royal notice, it is not that we ourselves consider it to be the strong part of our case; for, though our rights were recognized, they were by no means created by that treaty; and we do, with all humility, conceive, that, if no such event as the said treaty had ever taken place, your Majesty's Catholic subjects, from their unvarying loyalty, and dutiful submission to the laws, and from the great support afforded by them to your Majesty's Government in this country, as well in their personal service in your Majesty's fleets and armies, as from the taxes and revenues levied on their property, are fully competent and justly entitled to participate and enjoy the blessings of the constitution of their country.

And now that we have, with all humility, submitted our grievances to your Majesty, permit us, most gracious Sovereign, again to represent our sincere attachment to the constitution, as established in three estates of King, Lords, and Commons; our uninterrupted loyalty, peaceable demeanor, and submission to the laws for one hundred years; and our determination to persevere in the same dutiful conduct which has, under your Majesty's happy auspices, procured us those relaxations of the penal statutes, which the wisdom of the Legislature has from time to time thought proper to grant; we humbly presume to hope that your Majesty, in your paternal goodness and affection towards a numerous and oppressed body of your loyal subjects, may be graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament of Ireland, to take into their consideration the whole of

our situation, our numbers, our merits, and our sufferings; and, as we do not give place to any of your Majesty's subjects in loyalty and attachment to your sacred person, we cannot suppress our wishes of being restored to the rights and privileges of the constitution of our country, and thereby becoming more worthy, as well as more capable, of rendering your Majesty that service, which it is not less our duty than our inclination to afford.

So may your Majesty transmit to your latest posterity, a Crown secured by public advantage and public affection; and so may your royal person become, if possible, more dear to your grateful people.

[The above petition is signed by the Delegates from the following counties, cities, and towns, in the kingdom of Ireland.]

John Thomas Troy, D. D. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, H. Moylan, D. D. Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork,	For ourselves and the Roman Catholic Prelates and Clergy of Ireland.
Luke Teiling, Oliver O'Hara, Bernard O'Neill,	For ourselves and the Catholics of the county of Antrim.
Theo. MacKenna, Charles Whittington, Owen O'Callaghan,	County of Armagh.
Walter Fitzgerald, Edward Butler, William Finn, Thomas Warren,	County of Carlow.
Hugh O'Reily, James Pallas, Edward Dowell, Patrick Dowell,	County of Cavan.
Patrick O'Reilly, Lawrence Comyn, James O'Gorman, Nicholas Mahon, Daniel O'Connell, Francis MacMahon, jr.	County of Clare.
William Coppinger, John Therry, Nicholas Francis Coppinger, D. Rochfort, Bryan Scheehy, Edward Byrne, Dennis Thomas O'Brien,	County and City of Cork.

Richard Dodd,	County of Donnegal.
Daniel MacLaughlin,	
Andrew MacShane,	
Samuel Norris,	County of Down.
John O'Neill,	
John Magenis,	
Thomas Savage,	
James Kenney,	
Patrick Thunder,	County of Dublin.
Barry Lawless,	
Patrick Smith,	
Peter Farrell,	
Thomas Segrave,	
Henry Thunder,	
James Kiernan,	County of Fermanagh.
Philip Maguire,	
Terence Maguire,	
Richard Kiernan,	
Christopher Dillon Bellew,	County of Galway.
Christopher Bellew,	
Thomas French,	
Thomas Hussey,	County of Kerry.
Matthew Moriarty,	
Thomas Fitzgerald, jun.	County of Kildare.
Charles Aylmer,	
John Esmonde,	
Christopher Nangle,	
James Archbold,	
Randel MacDonnell,	
Edward Sheil,	County of Kilkenny.
Nicholas Devereux,	
Patrick Oliver Plunkett,	King's County.
Francis Bennett,	
Myles Keon,	County of Leitrim.
Hugh O'Beirne,	
John Keogh,	
Robert Dillon,	
Bryan Sheehy,	County of Limerick.
R. Sheehy Keatinge,	
Richard MacCormick,	
Andrew MacShane,	County of Londonderry.
Richard Dodd,	
James Count Nugent,	County of Westmeath.
Christopher Nugent,	
Bernard O'Reilly,	
Edward MacEvoy,	
John Weldon,	

Patrick Byrne,	County of Louth.
Patrick Russell,	
James Joseph MacDonnell,	County of Mayo.
Edmund Dillon,	
Andrew Crean Lynch,	
Nicholas Fitzgerald,	
Theodore Mahon,	
James Nangle,	County of Meath.
Bartholomew Barnwall,	
Michael Johnson,	
Richard Barnewall,	
Thomas Ryan, M. D.	
Hugh Hamill,	County of Monaghan.
James Carolan,	
Bartholomew Clinton,	
Daniel Reilly,	
Morgan Kavanagh,	Queen's County.
James Warren,	
William Dunne,	
Edward Byrne, jun.	
John Fallon,	County of Roscommon.
James Plunkett,	
Owen O'Connor,	
Hugh MacDermot, M. D.	County of Sligo.
J. Everard,	
Patrick Mullarky,	
John MacDonogh,	
Charles O'Connor,	
James Aylward,	
Lawrence Smyth,	County of Tipperary.
John Lalor,	
Dennis O'Meagher,	
Thomas Mahon,	
Thomas Richard Geraghty,	County of Tyrone.
Terence O'Neill,	
Bernard MacMahon,	
John Ball,	
John Byrne,	
John Fairfield,	
Patrick Power,	County & City of Waterford.
Bartholomew Rivers,	
Richard MacKenna,	
John Dillon,	
Thomas Kirwan,	
James Edward Devereux,	County of Wexford.
Harvey Hay,	
Edward Hay,	
Edward Sweetman,	

Walter Byrne,	County of Wicklow.
Thomas Fitz Simon,	
Richard Doyle,	
Patrick Cavenagh,	
Peter Brady,	
Michael Dardis,	County of Westmeath.
Lattin Fitzgerald	
John Walsh,	
John Cormick,	
Christopher Teeling, M. D.	Town of Carrickfergus.
Laurence MacDermott,	
John Byrne,	Town of Armagh.
Edward Madden,	Town of Inniskillin.
Thomas Warren,	Town of Carlow.
Lewis Flanagan,	Philliptown.
James Molloy,	
Thomas Magan,	Town of Dundalk.
Ignatius Weldon,	Town of Trim.
Thomas Lynch,	
Edward Sutton,	Town of Wexford.
William Kearney,	
Michael MacCarty,	
Francis Arthur,	City of Limerick.
Jasper White,	
Luke Stritch,	
George O'Halloran,	
William Sweetman,	
Charles Young,	
John Rivers,	Clonmell.
Matthew James Plunkett,	
Henry Lynch,	Town of Galway.
Malachy O'Connor,	
Edmund Lynch Athy,	
Martin F. Lynch,	
James Fitz Simons,	Carrick on Shannon.
N. Le Favre,	Town of Castlebar.
Hugh Leonard,	
John Dunn,	Town of Sligo.
James Bird,	Town of Drogheda.
Roger Hamill,	
Gerald Dillon,	
Jeremiah Dwyer,	Town of Cashel.
Simon Kelly,	Town of Athlone.
Mark Dowlin,	Town & Lordship of Newry.
James Reilly,	
Charles Drumgoole,	
Paul Houston,	Town of Enniscorthy.
Philip Sullivan,	

Thomas Doran, James Kelly,	Ballyshannon.
John Donahoe,	Town of Carrick on Suir.
Con. Loughmyn, John Shearman, John Murphy,	City of Kilkenny.
James Dixon,	Dungarvan.
Joseph Patrick Cahill, G. Fitzgerald,	Town of Athy.
John MacLoghlin,	Town of Boyle.
William James MacNeven, Edward Geoghehan,	Navan.
Denis Cassin,	Town of Ballymahon.
Richard Cross, Patrick Byrne,	Town of Belfast.
Thomas Bourke, John O'Neill,	Town of Athboy.
Richard Browne, Gregory Scurlog,	Town of Carrickmacross.
Hubert Thomas Dolphin,	Loughrea.
Henry Johnston,	Maryborough.
Patrick Byrne, W. S. Kindelan,	Ardee.
A. Thompson,	Town of Thurles.
John Esmond, Joseph Byrne,	Town of Naas.
Anthony French,	Town of Athenry
John Ball, jun.	Maryborough.
John Duffy,	Town of Roscrea.
Christopher Taylor,	Town of Swords.
Richard Dillon, Thomas Kennedy, Jonathan Lynch, Thomas Glanan, James Murphy, John White Lewis Lyons, Patrick Bean, Edward Lewines, A. Daly, M. D. Nicholas Elcock, Simon Maguire, William Hyland, Patrick Marsh, Thomas Reynolds, John Sweetman, Michael Boylan, James Conolly,	City of Dublin.

Thomas Braughall, Charles Ryan, John Ball, Thomas MacDonnell, Christopher Kelly, Patrick Sweetman, John Sutton, John Comerford, Patrick Grehan, James Ferrall, William Clark, John Kearney, Richard Walsh, J. G. Kennedy, John Andrews,	City of Dublin.

APPENDIX.

Sub-committee—January 12, 1793.

Denis Thomas O'Brien, in the chair.

It having been publicly and solemnly asserted, that the petition of the Catholics to his Majesty contained many falsehoods and misrepresentations,

Resolved, therefore, That it is necessary to republish that Petition, with Notes, reciting the different acts of Parliament on which the alleged *falsehoods and misrepresentations* are grounded.

Signed by order,

JOHN SWEETMAN, *Secretary.*

Dublin, January 12, 1793.

In consequence of the above resolution, the petition, with extracts from the different statutes, by way of notes, has been printed in Dublin, and is now, with the same notes, reprinted in London, because the Lord High Chancellor of Ireland's Speech, in the Catholic Petition, has been printed here, at Miller's, Bond-street, price 6*d.* or two guineas per hundred, and circulated with uncommon industry.

NOTES,

Reciting the Statutes, on which the allegations in the petition are grounded.

Every person that shall be admitted into any office civil or military, or shall receive any pay, salary, fee, or wages, belonging to any office or place of trust, by reason of any patent or grant from the crown, or having command or place of trust from or under the crown, or by its authority, or by authority derived from it, within this realm, shall, in the same or next term, in one of the four courts, in open court, between the hours of nine and twelve in the forenoon, or between the said hours, at the same or next general quarter sessions for that county, barony, or place where such persons, next after admission into such office, shall reside, take the several oaths, and repeat the *declaration* required by the 3d W. and M. ch. 2, in England, and also the oath of abjuration appointed by 1st Anne, ch. 22, in England, and also receive the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the church of Ireland, in some public church, upon some Lord's Day, commonly called Sunday, immediately after divine service and sermon, within three months after such admission, and in the court where said oaths are taken, shall first deliver a certificate of having received the sacrament as aforesaid, under the hands of minister and church-wardens, and make proof thereof by two witnesses on oath. 2 Anne, ch. 6, s. 16, 17, 1 Geo. III, ch. 2, s. 1, 1702.

No person hereafter elected mayor, bailiff, sovereign, portreaf, burgomaster, recorder, sheriff, treasurer, alderman, town-clerk, burgess, or one of the common council, or any magistrate, or such or the like officer, within any city, walled town or corporation, or master or wardens of any corporation, guild, or fraternity, within any city, walled town, or corporation, shall be capable of holding, enjoying, or executing any of the said offices, places, or employments, until he shall have taken the oath of supremacy established by 2d Eliz. ch. 1, and the oath of allegiance; beside the oath usually taken upon the admission

of any person into the said offices, places, or employments; the said oaths to be made before such persons as shall admit them to the said several offices; and, upon any such person's refusal to take the said oaths, the election of such persons into any of the said offices is void; such persons only excepted, with whose making said oath of supremacy the Lord Lieutenant, for some particular reasons, shall think fit, by writing under his hand, by name to dispense. 25 Ch. 2 Rules by Lord Lieutenant and Council, 1672.

The oath of supremacy mentioned in 2d Eliz. ch. 1, is hereby abrogated; and all persons that shall be admitted into any office or employment, ecclesiastical or civil, or come into any capacity in respect whereof they should have been obliged to take the said abrogated oath, shall take the oaths and make the *declaration* in this act mentioned, in such manner, at such times, and before such persons as they were directed to take the said abrogated oath. 3 W. & M. ch. 2, s. 1, 4. English. 1609.

Not to be construed to allow erection or endowment of any Popish university or college, or endowed school in this realm. s. 4, 21, 22 Geo. III, ch. 62.

All Papists shall discover, and deliver up to a justice of peace, or head officer of their place of residence, all their arms, armor, and ammunition. Any two justices of the peace, or any chief officer of a town corporate, by themselves or by their warrant, are empowered, from time to time, to search for and seize all such arms, armor, and ammunition, as shall be concealed in *any* house, lodging, or other places where they shall *suspect* any such arms, armor, or ammunition, shall be concealed; and the same so seized, preserve for the King's use, and return a true account thereof to the Lord Lieutenant. The search must be made between the rising and the setting of the sun, other than in the cities and their suburbs, towns corporate, market towns, if it shall be so thought necessary, and the warrant for that purpose to direct and appoint. In case such justices of the peace or chief officer of town corporate, after such search made, *suspect* that any arms, armor, or ammunition, remained concealed, they are required to cause the persons suspected of concealing the same to be brought before them, and to be examined upon oath concerning the same. Every Papist who shall have arms, armor, or ammunition, and not discover and deliver up the same,

and every other person who wittingly shall have any arms, armor, or ammunition, to the use of, or in trust for, such Papist, and every such person who, upon demand or search made for such arms, armor and ammunition, shall refuse to declare to the justices or persons empowered to search for and seize the same, what arms, armor, and ammunition they, or any other, to his knowledge, or with his privity, have, or shall hinder the delivery thereof to the persons authorized to search for and seize the same, and every other person who shall refuse to make discovery on oath, to be administered by the said justices, or chief officer of town corporate, concerning the premises, or being summoned by warrant, under the hands of two justices of peace, shall, without reasonable cause, refuse or neglect to appear before such justices of the peace or chief officer, to be examined concerning the premises, shall forfeit in manner following, viz. If such person be a peer or peeress, he or she shall, for the first offence, forfeit £100; and, for the second offence, incur the penalty of a person attainted in a premunire, and, being thereof convicted, shall suffer punishment accordingly; if such person be under the degree of a peer or peeress, he or she shall, for the first offence, forfeit £30, and imprisonment for one year; and, for the second offence, incur and suffer the pains and penalties of a person attainted in a premunire. Of the forfeiture by the peer or peeress, one moiety to go to the King, and the other moiety to the prosecutor. Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council may, by order of Privy Council, license any person, as he and they shall think fit, to keep such arms as shall be particularly expressed in such license. Persons refusing the oaths and declaration in the act mentioned, tendered by a justice of peace, shall be deemed Papists. Magistrates neglecting or refusing to execute this act forfeit £50, one moiety to the King, the other to the prosecutor, and disabled to act. 7 Will. III, ch. 5, s. 1. 1694. s. 2, 5, 7, 12, 13.

No Papist, or reputed Papist, shall be employed as fowler for a Protestant, or under color thereof shall have, keep, carry, or use, any gun or fire arms; the same may be seized by warrant of a justice of peace, and belongs to the informer, notwithstanding the same should be the property of a Protestant. 10th Will. III, ch. 8, s. 4. 1797.

The powers in 7th Will. III, ch. 5, may be exercised by *all* justices of the peace and chief officers of cities and towns corporate; the penalty for first offence in peers and peeresses extended to £300, and in other persons to £50 and one year's imprisonment; said penalties of £300, and £50, to be divided between the King and the prosecutor. Justices of peace for counties, and counties of cities and counties of towns, at Midsummer quarter sessions, yearly, shall issue warrants to constables and two others in each barony, to search for arms, armor, and ammunition, in the possession of Papists, or other persons in trust for them; and the chief magistrate of every city and town corporate, not being a county of a city or county of a town, or his deputy, shall once in a year issue his warrant to the constables of each city or town to search in like manner. The chief magistrate, or his deputy, neglecting so to do, shall forfeit £10, and every high constable neglecting to execute such warrant shall forfeit the sum of £5, and every petty constable neglecting to execute such warrant shall forfeit £1, the said respective penalties to be recovered by civil bill, by any person who shall sue for the same. If justices neglect to search, after due information upon oath, they forfeit £20, recoverable by civil bill to the use of the person suing for the same. No Papist, or other person in trust for him, shall, for sale, or otherwise, keep or have, for, or upon any pretence, whatsoever, any warlike stores, sword blades, barrels, locks, or stocks of guns or fire arms, on penalty, on conviction, of £20, by civil bill to the prosecutor, and imprisonment one year, and till the £20 be paid. Where any Protestant servant, by the direction, consent, or privity of his Popish master, keeps arms, such master shall be deemed as if he actually kept such arms, and shall suffer the penalties that are inflicted on Papists who keep arms, and such servant shall be subject to said penalties as if he were a Papist. All suits and prosecutions for any offence against this act shall be commenced within one year after the offence committed. 12th Geo. II, ch. 6, s. 1, s. 2, 1738, s. 3. s. 13, s. 14, s. 15.

One or more justice or justices of the peace, and all sheriffs and chief magistrates of cities and towns corporate, within their respective jurisdictions, may, from time to time, as well by *night* as by day, search for, and seize all arms and ammunition

belonging to any Papist not licensed to keep the same, or in the hands of any person in trust for a Papist; and for that purpose enter any dwelling house, out house, office, field, or other place belonging to a Papist, or to any other person where such magistrate has reasonable cause to *suspect* any such arms or ammunition shall be concealed, and on suspicion, after search, may summon and examine on oath the person suspected of such concealment. 15 & 16 Geo. III, ch. 21, sec 15. 1775.

Provided, that no person shall be convicted, or incur any penalty for any offence upon any confession or discovery he or she shall make, on being examined upon oath as aforesaid, nor shall any such examination be given in evidence against the person so examined, unless such person shall be indicted for having committed wilful perjury in such examination. Sec. 16.

Papists refusing to deliver or declare such arms as they or any with their privity have, or hindering the delivery, or refusing discovery on oath, or without cause neglecting to appear on summons, to be examined before a magistrate concerning the same, shall, on conviction, be punished by fine and imprisonment, *or* such *corporal punishment of pillory or whipping*, as the *court* shall, in their *discretion*, think proper. Sec. 17.

The above act of the 15th and 16th Geo. III, ch. 21, was, by said act, continued to the 24th June, 1778; was further continued to the 24th June, 1780, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, by the 17th and 18th Geo. III, ch. 36. s. 7, 8; was further continued to the 24th June, 1783, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament, by the 19th and 20th Geo. III, ch. 14. s. 5; was further continued to the 24th June, 1787, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, by the 21st and 22d Geo. III, ch. 40. s. 1; and by the 26th Geo. III, ch. 24. s. 72, the said act of the 15th and 16th Geo. III, ch. 21, was revived and continued for the term of seven years from the 25th March, 1786, and from thence to the end of the then next session of Parliament.

N. B. From the above statement, it must be evident, that the aforesaid act of the 15th and 16th Geo. III, *ch.* 21, DID NOT EXPIRE IN 1784, BUT IS STILL IN FULL FORCE.

It shall be lawful for the commissioners of police and divisional justices, or any of them, acting under this act, to search *suspected* places within the district for concealed arms, and if

they find any gun, pistol, sword, or hanger in the possession of any one not qualified by law to bear or carry arms, it shall be lawful, and they are required, to seize, carry away, break and destroy all such arms. 26 Geo. III, ch. 24, sec. 44. 1785.

From and after the 1st of May, 1703, upon bill filed in chancery, by or on the behalf of a child or children of a Popish parent, professing or desirous, or willing to be instructed in the Protestant religion, against such Popish parent, it shall and may be lawful for said court to make such order for the *maintenance* of every such Protestant child, not maintained by such Popish parent, suitable to the degree and ability of such Popish parent, and to the age of such child, and *also* for the *portion* of every such Protestant child, *to be paid at the decease of such Popish parent*, as that court shall adjudge fit, suitable to the degree and ability of such parent. 2 Anne, ch. 6, sec. 3. 1702.

Where and as often as any child or children of any Popish parent or parents, hath or have heretofore professed or conformed him, her, or themselves unto, or shall hereafter conform him, her, or themselves to the Protestant religion, as by law established, and enroll in Chancery, a certificate of the bishop of the diocese in which he, she, or they shall inhabit or reside, testifying his, her, or their being a Protestant or Protestants, and conforming his, her, or themselves to the Church of Ireland, as by law established, it shall and may be lawful for the Court of Chancery, upon a bill founded upon THIS ACT, to oblige the said Popish parent or parents to discover, upon oath, the full value of his, her, or their estate, as well personal as real, clear, over and above all real incumbrances and debts contracted *bona fide* for valuable consideration before the enrolment of such certificate; and thereupon to make such order for the support and maintenance of such Protestant child or children, by the distribution of the said real and personal estate to, and among, such Protestant child or children, for the *present support* of such Protestant child or children; and, *also*, to and for the *portion or portions*, and *future maintenance or maintenances* of such Protestant child or children, after the decease of such Popish parent or parents, as the said Court shall judge fit; notwithstanding any fraudulent gift or sale, or voluntary disposition, or any voluntary charge or incumbrance, by statute-staple, judgment, bond, devise, or otherwise, made, entered into,

acknowledged, suffered, or done, after the enrolment in Chancery of the said certificate; provided, such order and distribution among the Protestant children of such Popish parent shall not exceed one-third of the personal and real estate, for the *maintenance and support* of such Protestant child or children *during the life* of such Popish parent. 8th Anne, ch. 3, sec. 3, 1703.

Whereas such Popish parents do frequently set up fraudulent settlements and incumbrances, and make fraudulent leases at low rents, to make their estate, real and personal, appear small and of little value, in order to deprive such of their children as shall become Protestants of a reasonable support and maintenance; and whereas the estate of such Popish parents may increase after such portions and allowances made by the Court of Chancery, it is enacted, that, notwithstanding any decree for portion and maintenance made up or enrolled, it SHALL AND MAY BE LAWFUL FOR THE COURT OF CHANCERY, UPON A NEW BILL OR BILLS FOUNDED ON THIS ACT, (by which it shall be discovered and made appear that the estate, real or personal, of such Popish parents was much greater than, at the time of the decree, it appeared to be, OR THAT SUCH POPISH PARENTS HAD INCREASED OR IMPROVED THE SAME) to increase or augment such *portion or maintenance*, formerly decreed or allowed to such Protestant children of such Popish parents, according to the value of the estate, real or personal, of such parents, at the time of such new bill or bills preferred; but, if it shall appear to the said Court, that such new bill or bills are groundless and vexatious, then the said court shall dismiss the same, and award full costs to the defendant, to be levied as costs in other cases are usually levied. Anne, ch. 3, sec. 4 & 5.

From and after the 1st of August, 1778, Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion, may take, hold, and enjoy any lease or leases, upon which a rent, *bona fide*, to be paid in money, shall be reserved, for any term of years not exceeding 999 years certain, or for any term of years determinable upon any number of lives, not exceeding five, with or without liberty of committing waste, and the same dispose of by will or otherwise, as fully and beneficially, to all intents and purposes, as any other his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom. 17th & 18th Geo. III, ch. 49, sec. 1, 1778.

All lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereof any Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, is *now seized*, or shall be *seized*, by virtue of a title legally derived by, from, or under such person or persons *now seized* in fee-simple or fee-tail, whether at law or in equity, shall, from and after the 1st of August, 1778, be descendable, deviseable, and transferable, as fully, beneficially, and effectually, as if the same were in the *seisin* of any other of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom. 17 & 18 Geo. III, ch. 49, sec. 2, 1778.

All Papists shall and may, from and after the 1st of August, 1778, be, to all intents and purposes, capable to take, hold, and enjoy all or any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, which shall descend from, or be devised or transferred by any *Papist* who is *now seized*, or shall be *seized* by virtue of a title legally devised by, from, or under, such person *now seized* in fee-simple or fee-tail, whether at law or in equity, any thing contained in 2d Anne, ch. 6, or 8th Anne, ch. 3, or in any other statute or law to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding. 17 & 18 Geo. III, ch. 49, sec. 2, 3, 1778.

All and every person or persons, being in the actual *possession* of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, under titles which shall not have been litigated before the 1st of November, 1778, whether derived by descent, devise, limitation, or purchase, and all persons deriving under settlements made upon marriages, or other valuable consideration by Papists in possession, shall have, take, hold, or enjoy the same, as if said acts of 2d and 8th Anne had not been made. 17 & 18 Geo. III, ch. 49, sec. 12, 1778.

No *maintenance* or *portion* shall be granted to any child of a Popish parent, upon a bill filed against such parent, pursuant to said act, 2d of Anne, out of the *personal* property of such Papist, *except* out of *such leases which they may hereafter take under the powers granted in this act*, any thing contained in any act or statute to the contrary in anywise notwithstanding. 17 & 18 Geo. III, ch. 49, sec. 6, 1778.

From the 1st of May, 1782, it shall or may be lawful for any person or persons professing the Popish religion, to purchase, or take by grant, limitation, descent, or devise, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, or ANY INTEREST

therein, (except advowson, and also, except any manor, or borough, or part of a manor or borough, the freeholders or inhabitants whereof are entitled to vote for burgesses to represent such borough or manor in Parliament) and the same to dispose of, as he, she, or they shall think fit, by will, or otherwise; and that such lands, tenements, and hereditaments, so purchased or taken, shall be descendable according to the course of common law, and deviseable and transferable, in like manner as the lands of Protestants; any law or statute to the contrary thereof, in anywise notwithstanding. 21 & 22 Geo. III, ch. 24, sec. 1, 1782.

N. B. From the above statement it is evident, that, though the CHATTELS REAL *of the* CATHOLIC, *acquired since May,* 1782, *and his* REAL ESTATES *may be secure, yet his* GOODS *and* PERSONAL CHATTELS, *and* CHATTELS REAL, *acquired subsequent to* 1*st November,* 1778, *and previous to* 1*st May,* 1782, *save leases acquired under the* 17*th and* 18*th Geo.* III, *are still subject to the provisions of the* EIGHTH *of* ANNE, *in respect to* maintenance *and* portion *for his* PROTESTANT CHILD *or* CHILDREN: *And, therefore, the Catholic was* NOT GUILTY OF MISREPRESENTATION *in asserting, in his Petition to his Sovereign, "That his* PERSONAL ESTATE *was* NOT SECURE."

In respect to the leases taken by Papists under the powers granted by the 17th and 18th Geo. III. ch. 49, it is to be observed, that those leases, if taken at any time within the 1st August and 1st November, 1778, were liable to be charged with maintenance and portion for the children of a Popish parent possessed of the same, if a bill grounded on the SECOND Anne, ch. 6, was filed for that purpose, before the 1st November, 1778, but if no such bill was filed before the 1st November, 1778, such leases so previously taken, and in the actual possession of the Papist on that day, ceased to be liable to such charges. It must also be observed, as to those leases taken by Papists, under the powers granted by the 17th and 18th Geo. III, ch. 49, that if taken at any time after the 1st November, 1778, and before the 2d May, 1782, (or since, if of lands, in such beforementioned manors or boroughs) they were, and do now, continue liable to be charged with such maintenance and portion—as to leases of any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, (save in any before-

mentioned manors or boroughs) taken by Papists after the 1st May, 1782, they are within the provision of the statute of the 21st and 22d Geo. III, ch. 24, "which enables Papists, upon "making, as aforesaid, the oath and declaration beforemention-"ed, to take and dispose of lands, tenements, and heredita-"ments, and any interest therein, as fully and beneficially, as "other subjects may;" and are, therefore, not liable to such charges.

Papists, to serve on juries, must have £10 per annum, clear freehold, except in counties of cities and towns. No Papist to serve on juries, in actions between Protestants and Papists; challenge to such Papists shall be allowed, if proved. 29th Geo. II, ch. 6, sec. 1, 12, 1755.

This act, in force to the 1st May, 1758, and to the end of the the then next session of Parliament; revived and continued to the 1st of May, 1772, and to the end of the then next session of Parliament, by 1st Geo. II, ch. 17, sec. 9; revived, and made perpetual, by 13th and 14th Geo. III, ch. 41, sec. 1.

No Papist, or reputed Papist, shall be capable of serving as a juror upon trials for enlisting persons in foreign service. 11 Geo. II, ch. 7, sec. 3, 1737.

In all trials of issues on any presentment, indictment, or information, or action, on any of the Popery laws, it shall and may be lawful, to and for the prosecutor, or plaintiff, to challenge any Papist returned as juror to try the same, and assign for cause, that the person so returned to serve is a Papist; which challenge the court shall allow, and adjudge the same to be a good and loyal challenge. 6 Anne, ch. 6, sec. 5, 1706.

No Papist shall serve on, or be returned to serve on, any grand juries in K. B. or in any court before justices of assize, oyer and terminer, or gaol delivery, or quarter sessions, unless it shall appear to the court that a sufficient number of Protestants cannot then be had for that service. 6 Anne ch. 6, sec. 5, 1706.

From and after the 24th of March, 1703, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant of this kingdom, being a Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, shall, at any time hereafter, be capable of giving his vote for the electing of knights of any shires or counties within this kingdom, or citizens, or

burgesses to serve in any succeeding Parliament, without first repairing to the general quarter sessions of the peace to be holden for the county, city, or borough, wherein he inhabits or dwells, and there voluntarily take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration; to be entered by the clerk of the peace, and a certificate thereof given, paying one shilling, on producing which he shall be permitted to vote, as fully as any Protestant, otherwise rejected. 2 Anne, ch. 6, sec. 24, 1702.

From and after the 24th of June next, no freeholder, burgess, freeman, or inhabitant, being a Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, shall be admitted to his vote, in the election of knights, citizens, or burgesses, to serve in Parliament, unless such person shall have taken the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, at least six calendar months before the day of such election, and shall, also, take the said oaths at the day of said election, if required so to do by the sheriff, one of the candidates, or any person having a right to vote at said election. In case any Papist, or person professing the Popish religion, shall, contrary to this act, give his vote at any election in Parliament, and be thereof convicted, he shall forfeit £100, one moiety to the King, and the other to the informer. 2 Geo. I, ch. 19, sec. 7, 1715.

No Papist, though not convict, shall be entitled to vote at the election of any member to serve in Parliament, or at the election of any magistrate for any city, or other town corporate. 1 Geo. II, ch. 9, sec. 7, 1727.

From and after the first of May, 1746, any of the candidates, at any election of members to serve in Parliament, or any other person having a right to vote at such election, may require from every *freeholder*, before he is admitted to poll at such election, an oath, in which he must swear that he is not a *Papist, nor married to a Papist.* In the case of a convert, the words "that "he is not a Papist," shall be omitted, and, instead thereof, shall be inserted, "that he was educated in the Popish religion, and has conformed to the church of Ireland, as by law established, and has not, since his conformity, married a Popish wife;" which oath is conclusive evidence to the sheriff. 19 Geo. II, ch. 11, sec. 4, 7. 21 Geo. II, ch. 10, sec. 3, 6. 15 & 16 Geo. III, ch. 16, sec. 9, 10, 1745.

No person entitled to vote in right of being a *Protestant inhabitant only*, for any members to serve in Parliament, for any *borough* in this Kingdom, *where the right of voting is vested in the Protestant inhabitants in general, or Protestant inhabitants, and others*, or for chief magistrates, burgesses, or freemen, who shall not, if required, take a similar oath, which is conclusive evidence to the returning officer. Geo. III, ch. 13, sec. 5. 15 & 16 Geo. III, ch. 16, sec. 12. 21 & 22 Geo. III, ch. 21, sec. 7.

DEFENCE

OF THE

Sub-Committee of the Catholics of Ireland,

FROM THE

IMPUTATIONS ATTEMPTED TO BE THROWN ON THAT BODY,

PARTICULARLY FROM THE CHARGE OF

Supporting the Defenders.

1793.

April 2, 1793.

SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

Denis Thomas O'Brien, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved, That the following Defence of this Committee be published forthwith.

Signed by order.

JOHN SWEETMAN,
Sec. Sub-Com.

DEFENCE, &c. &c.

REPORTS having been propagated with great zeal and diligence, and assertions directly made, that the General Committee, or their Sub-committee, have held communication with the insurgents commonly called "*Defenders*," and supplied them with money; and it being insinuated that a collection, lately instituted for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred by the Committee in the pursuit of Catholic emancipation, was intended to be, in part, applied to the support of the said insurgents, it becomes the duty of the Sub-committee, whatever reluctance they may, at this time, feel at obtruding themselves on public notice, to submit to the nation a plain statement of facts as they really are.

Before entering, however, into the intended investigation, the Sub-committee appeal to the candor and good sense of their countrymen, whether the conduct imputed to them by those groundless rumors be probable or likely, or, in the smallest degree, consonant to the general tenor of their views and their conduct? They have not so ill managed the trust reposed in them, and the event has proved it, as lightly to incur the imputation of a total want of common sense or common honesty; they have faithfully and diligently devoted themselves to the Catholic cause; and they have the satisfaction to see that cause brought from the lowest state of contempt to its present elevation, whether, in a great degree, by their attention and their labors, the public will decide; they were not so blind or so ignorant as not to know what a pretext for evading a restitution of their rights, any thing like violence on the part of Catholics, however disconnected from the Committee, would hold out to

the enemies of their fair and constitutional pursuits; and, therefore, common justice and candor should induce their countrymen to believe that *they* would be the most anxious men in the community to guard against any thing like tumult or disturbance as far as lay in their power; satisfied as they were that nothing could be so fatal to their hopes of emancipation, to the pursuit of which they had for a series of years devoted their time, their attention, and their property. But it is not merely on the reason or probability of the case that they rely; they appeal, with confidence, to their general character as men and citizens, and to every publication put forth by their authority. THERE IS NOT ONE OF THOSE NUMEROUS PAPERS THAT DOES NOT IMPRESS THE MOST LOYAL AND DUTIFUL CONDUCT, AND THE MOST PROFOUND RESPECT AND MOST IMPLICIT OBEDIENCE TO THE LAWS OF THE LAND.

The charge endeavored to be attached upon the Sub-committee resolves itself into two heads: first, a connection with the people called Defenders; and, secondly, a levying of money for improper purposes, and, among others, for the purpose of assisting the insurgents.

With regard to the first: The Defenders, as has been truly observed, at this time, are very different from those who originally assumed that appellation. The first Defenders, *properly so called*, were associations of Catholics for the purpose of protecting themselves from the violent depredations of a party known by the name of "*Peep-o'Day Boys*," into which associations they were forced by the difficulty, or, as they stated it, the impossibility of obtaining justice against the aggressors; they originated several years back, and were confined to the counties of Armagh and Down. The *present* insurgents who, with very different principles, have adopted the same name, commenced in April last, and have extended through the counties of Louth, Meath, Cavan, Monaghan, and other parts adjacent.

In July, 1792, in consequence of repeated calls to that effect in the Northern papers, and of personal application from several Protestant gentlemen, three of the Committee had an interview at *Rathfriland*, in the county Down, with above twenty respectable Protestant gentlemen of that neighborhood, when, after much conversation, wherein it was admitted that, in no one instance, had the Catholics been the aggressors, but, on the

contrary, had been repeatedly attacked, even in the solemn offices of their religion and the burial of their dead, it was agreed that the Committee should use all its influence with the lower orders of Catholics to induce them to desist from their meetings, and that the volunteers should adopt resolutions stating their determination to protect every man equally, without distinction of party or religion.

In consequence of this meeting, the General Committee framed the following address to that district:

DUBLIN, *July* 25, 1792.

At a meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, Bernard O'Neil, Esq. in the Chair, the following address was unanimously agreed to:

"*To the Catholics of the Parish of* ———.

"The General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland has "heard, with the greatest anxiety, that disturbances have some "time since broken out, and are still continued in your neigh- "borhood. From an earnest desire to restore peace and good "order, three of their body had a meeting, on the 18th instant, "with several Protestant gentlemen at Rathfriland, when they "learned that, on the one hand, the Protestants were much "alarmed at the Catholics meeting, in large bodies, with arms, "and in regular order; and, on the other, that the Catholics "were induced to those meetings from an apprehension that "their houses might be again broken open, and their persons "attacked, as had happened, on several occasions, for a consi- "derable time back.

"Under these circumstances it was agreed, by the gentlemen "then assembled, that the General Committee should exert all "its influence to prevent the Catholics parading in large bodies, "and with arms; and that the volunteers of the county, as "well those which were newly raised, as the old corps which "were revived, should declare their determination to protect "every man EQUALLY in his house, property, and person; and "to bring to justice all offenders against the public peace, be "their party or *religion* what it might, WITHOUT FAVOR, AF- "FECTION, OR DISTINCTION.

"In pursuance to that agreement, the General Committee "does now most earnestly entreat you to abstain from all such

" parades and meetings, and from every other measure that " may tend to give any alarm to your Protestant brethren.

" The magistrates of your county have already said, ' That " people of all *religions and persuasions* may rest assured of hav- " ing *a fair and equal attention given their informations and* " *complaints*, and have EQUAL PROTECTION FROM THE LAWS.' " The volunteers and respectable Protestants of your county " engage to support the magistrates in their determination. " There is no longer a necessity for your assembling in bodies " under the idea of protecting yourselves. The law of the land, " *when fairly and impartially administered*, will protect you " far better than you can be protected by any force of your " own.

" The General Committee is now engaged in the pursuit of " measures which will raise you and themselves from the ab- " ject condition of slaves, in your native country, to the dignity " of freemen. They are laboring to procure for you TWO " GREAT OBJECTS—*the right of voting for members to repre-* " *sent you in Parliament*, which will procure you the protec- " tion of your landlords, and *an equal share of the privileges of* " *the trial by jury*, which will give you the protection of the " laws equally with your Protestant brethren. It is only from " the peaceable and orderly demeanor of the Catholic body, " that the General Committee can hope for success. All riot, " all tumult and disorder, must throw embarrassment and dif- " ficulty in the way of our emancipation, and continue you and " us longer in the degraded state from which we have every " reason to expect that we may speedily arise, if these unfortu- " nate disturbances in your county do not furnish to our ene- " mies a pretext for delay.

" *If you observe the peaceable demeanor which we now recom-* " *mend, the General Committee will endeavor to secure for you* " *all possible protection, as well by applications to Government as* " *by supporting, at the common expense, the cause of those who,* " *if attacked in their houses, property, or persons, shall dutifully* " *appeal to the law of the land for redress, and whose circum-* " *stances may not enable them to seek that protection themselves.* " *But the General Committee will, in no case, undertake the de-* " *fence of any man who shall assist in any riotous or disorderly* " *meeting, or who shall not behave himself soberly, peaceably,* " *and honestly.*

"If, after this address, and the assurances of the volunteers "and magistrates of your county, you continue to assemble in "large bodies, and with arms, the consequence will be that the "whole force of Government will be called out to punish you, "and the General Committee will be compelled to give up all "idea of interfering in your behalf. We trust, however, "that you will avoid this grievous extremity; that the exhort-"ations of your clergy, and the advice and intreaties of the "General Committee who have no view but your interest, ad-"vancement, and safety, will have due weight with you; that "you will desist from those tumultuous meetings, which may "lead you into such dreadful consequences, and conduct your-"selves as dutiful subjects, as orderly citizens, and good men.

"Signed by order.

"RICH. M'CORMICK,

"*Sec. Gen. Com.*"

In consequence of the distribution of a very large impression of this address through the county Down, and of the volunteers publishing corresponding resolutions, peace and harmony were immediately and effectually restored to a part of the country which had been harassed with tumults, disturbances, and civil warfare, for several years antecedent: *And this is the single instance wherein the Committee directly or indirectly interfered in the affairs of those who were originally called "Defenders."* Had they wished, as cautious men, to evade a troublesome duty, they might have remained inert, and refused to intermeddle in a business that might eventually attach on them a vexatious and unfounded responsibility; but so anxious were they for the restoration of peace, and so satisfied of the danger arising to their cause, from tumult and disturbance, that they sent down two gentlemen expressly for the purpose of distributing their address, and, if necessary, of enforcing it by personal advice and exhortation. Their interference was for the sole purpose of restoring peace, and they were fortunate enough to effectuate their wish.

About this time, Mr. Thomas Patrick Coleman, of Dundalk, wrote to his correspondent in Dublin, Mr. John Sweetman, with whom he had a previous commercial intercourse of some years standing, requesting to know whether the offence for which certain persons stood committed was bailable or not;

and also recommending one Nugent, who came up to Dublin to solicit the advice and assistance of the Sub-committee on behalf of his brother, then a prisoner in Dundalk gaol. Mr. Sweetman being then Secretary, accordingly brought the man and the letter to several gentlemen of the Sub-committee, who happened to be assembled. With regard to the question of bail, he was informed, by a professional gentleman present, that it was impossible to give any opinion, the examinations in which the offence was specified not appearing; and with regard to Nugent himself, on examining him closely, good reason was found to doubt his being a person of the description mentioned in the address of the General Committee, dated July 25th, that is, "*one "who, if attacked in his house, property, or person, should duti-"fully appeal to the law of the land for redress, and who had "never assisted in any riotous and disorderly meeting,*" to which class alone protection had been promised; in consequence of which he was dismissed without advice or assistance, or promise of either, and returned, as is expressed in Mr. Sweetman's letter on that occasion, dated 9th August, 1792, "truly disconso-"late at not being able to effect something towards the libera-"tion of his kinsman." And this Committee do solemnly pledge the whole of their veracity and credit with the public, collectively and individually, that this is the *single instance* in which they, or any of them, with the knowledge of this Committee, had communication with any of the people *at present* called "Defenders," or any person on their behalf, and in this instance they refused to interfere; neither did they ever directly or indirectly authorize or impower any member of their own body, or any other person whatsoever, to correspond, on their behalf, with the Defenders, or any of their agents or friends, nor did they assist them with advice, counsel, or money; nor did they ever fee, retain, or employ any barrister, attorney, or agent, for the purpose of defending the said insurgents.

With regard to the second imputation attempted to be thrown on this Committee—that of levying money to be applied to illegal and improper purposes, and especially to that of supporting the Defenders, this Committee does assert that such charge is utterly unfounded and groundless, and evidently calculated for the purpose of destroying that confidence, harmony, and union amongst Catholics, from which such great and beneficial

consequences have resulted; and that this is the case, a plain statement of the facts will evince.

The General Committee was founded in 1773, and their first object was to prevent an unjust and oppressive levying of money under the denomination of Quarterage—a tax imposed by the Corporation of Dublin, and other towns corporate, upon Catholic tradesmen and artizans almost exclusively; for this purpose they employed several eminent counsel, among whom were two who are now on the Bench, to plead on their behalf as well at the Bar of the House of Commons as before the Privy Council; and at length they succeeded in the removal of this odious badge of inferiority; the expense of their various applications was defrayed by a voluntary subscription of the Catholics.

Previous to this time, it had been thought necessary that a Catholic nobleman of this country should go to England for the purpose of making personal application there on behalf of the Catholics; his exertions proved unsuccessful, but his lordship's expenses, amounting to £1500, were defrayed by a voluntary subscription.

Some years after, it being thought advisable to revive their applications for relief, and that, in consequence, an agent should be employed in England to bring forward to the notice of Ministers there, on all occasions, the loyalty and claims of the Catholics of this Kingdom, a professional gentleman of great respectability was employed by the Committee for that purpose; and it being thought fit that his exertion should be rewarded in a manner worthy of the cause which he was engaged to support, and of the dignity of the body who employed him, sums were at different times remitted to him, amounting, in the gross, to upwards of £2000, the whole of which was, as in the former case, made good by voluntary subscriptions; and this expenditure happened with the knowledge of a noble lord high in legal situation, and a member of the present Committee of Secrecy.

Previous to the last session, another professional gentleman, to whose family the Catholic cause had been indebted for the most generous and the most disinterested exertions of great and splendid talents, was employed as agent in England, and his presence being rendered necessary here, he attended through the whole of that session. At the rising of Parliament it became

necessary to reward his services, and, therefore, rather as a token of their gratitude than as an equivalent for the benefits rendered to the Catholic cause, he was presented by the Committee with the sum of two thousand guineas, raised, as before, by a voluntary subscription.

When an address was presented in 1791, striking at the existence of the General Committee, the great body of the Catholics stepped forward to vindicate their Delegates, and poured in addresses and resolutions from every quarter of the Kingdom; the General Committee felt it their duty to insert those in the public prints, at an enormous expense, as must be obvious to every man who is at all acquainted with the rates of advertising; by this a sum of nearly £1000 has been exhausted, independent of which a considerable arrear yet remains to be liquidated.

In the progress of the business, attacks in the public prints were made on the Catholic cause by a variety of bodies of men and individuals; it was necessary to repel those attacks on the ground where they were made; and this produced further publications on the part of the Committee, and, of course, additional expense, great part of which also remains still undischarged.

A deputation of five gentlemen was appointed by the General Committee for the purpose of presenting to his Majesty, in person, the petition of the Catholics of Ireland, which has produced his most gracious interposition in their behalf, and the consequent benefits which they have received. The expenses of that deputation, which have been very heavy, it is not equitable that the gentlemen appointed should sustain; in devoting their time to the public cause, they have sufficiently discharged the duty which they owed. These expenses, therefore, remain a charge on the justice and honor of the Catholic body.

The Sub-committee has, in this enumeration, stated, as instances, but a few of the heaviest expenditures of the body; there are a great many others inferior, but unavoidable, which they have passed over. They have frequently had occasion to fee counsel, but it is not their intention to go into detail; what they have said will, they trust, evince two facts material for their vindication from the charges invidiously endeavored to be attached to them: first, that the expenses of the General Com-

mittee are, and have been, very heavy; and, secondly, that it has been the uniform practice, from the foundation of their body to this hour, to defray those expenses by voluntary subscription; and, of course, that the one now instituted is no innovation, but a sequel of a string of precedents for the last twenty years.

When the Catholics of England, who, like their brethren of Ireland, were compelled by penal and restrictive laws to act as a separate body, applied to the Legislature of their country for relief, they found it necessary to raise a fund by subscription, which was accordingly effected. The General Committee in Ireland have done no more. It is presumed that, what was carried on immediately under the inspection of the British Minister, with all possible notoriety, cannot be, in its nature, very unconstitutional or alarming; the present subscription is, therefore, sanctioned by the acquiescence of the Minister of England, and by the practice of the Catholics of both countries.

With regard to the application of the money, which it is insinuated has been, and may be, misapplied to the use and support of the Defenders, the Sub-committee beg leave to repeat what they cannot too often recur to—that nothing could be so fatal to that cause which they have so long labored to raise, and, at last, with success, as any thing like tumult or disturbance; of course nothing is so monstrous and incredible as that they should be the fomenters and supporters of either. But not to rest on the reason of the case, if they were so foolish or so wicked as to endeavor to misapply this money, they have not the power. No man, nor body of men, has dominion over the funds of the General Committee but the General Committee itself; not a shilling can be drawn from the treasurer but by their order, except in particular cases, when they authorize the Sub-committee to a limited amount, and for a special purpose. The treasurer has always been one of the most respectable mercantile characters in the Kingdom: the last person who bore the office was the late Mr. Dermott; the present is Mr. John Comerford, of the house of O'Brien and Comerfords, men whose names it is sufficient barely to mention, to satisfy the nation that they would not be concerned in so base a misapplication of the public contribution as that which is affected to be at present apprehended.

The Sub-committee trust they have now exonerated themselves of the two imputations thrown out against them; and they pledge their whole credit, as men of veracity and honor, for the truth of every fact advanced in the foregoing statement. They are ready to submit the whole of their conduct to the most solemn investigation that can be devised; for, as they have no secret, they have no fear; and they solicit the inspection of every member of the Legislature, and of every respectable gentleman in the Kingdom, to their accounts, which lie open at the treasurer's, from which will appear, at once, the sums collected, and the mode and object of their application. With regard to the present subscription, the General Committee is probably drawing to a close: they owe many debts; they have incurred many obligations; it is necessary that those debts and obligations be discharged; the expenses incurred in the pursuit of emancipation have been hitherto principally defrayed by the Catholics of Dublin, who, of £3000, collected within three years, *which is the whole sum that has been subscribed*, have paid above £2,500. The body at large are now called upon to furnish their quota, to enable the General Committee to terminate their labors in a manner worthy of the object they have pursued, of the cause which they have supported, and the people whom they have represented; a people who, the Sub-committee rely, with confidence, will, in the manifestation of their sense of the services which have been rendered them, support, in their elevation, that dignity which they have maintained unimpaired through a century of unexampled slavery and oppression, and shew that the same spirit which, in adversity, preserved them loyal and obedient, in prosperity will make them magnanimous and grateful.

The Sub-committee consists of the following gentlemen:

Edward Byrne,	Thomas Warren,
Denis Thos. O'Brien,	John Sweetman,
John Keogh,	Richard M'Cormick,
Thomas Braughall,	Thomas Ryan, M. D.
Hugh Hamill,	M. F. Lynch,
Thomas Fitzgerald,	Randal M'Donnell, Esqrs.

and of every country gentleman delegated to the General Committee.

REASONS

WHY THE

QUESTION OF PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

HAS ALWAYS FAILED IN THE IRISH LEGISLATURE.

A Fragment. (Left unfinished, 1793.)

I presume no man in Ireland, under the degree of a Commissioner of his Majesty's revenue, will deny that a reform in the representation of the people is necessary. The principle has been recognized by the House of Commons in the sessions of 1793, at a period of terror which superseded all dissimulation. The supineness of the nation relieved them from their panic, and they have dexterously evaded the measure by differing as to mode and degree. The gentleman, who, in an unguarded moment of patriotism, pledged himself to bring it forward, has made the experiment, and discharged his conscience; the people have looked on with an apathy to be expected in those who had no interest in the event; and the question of Parliamentary reform, heretofore of some import, has been consigned to oblivion, with as little noise as if it were a common turnpike bill. As the nation assembled in arms in 1783, to procure a similar measure, and failed; as they assembled again in a civil congress, in 1785, and failed; and, finally, as opposition, without the nation, have now failed, it may be worth while to examine the cause of these repeated failures, and to see whether it lies in the nature of the measure itself, or in the principles on which, in those various attempts, it has been undertaken. If it be in the first, the sooner the truth is ascertained, the sooner sedition will lose its pretext, and the public mind be tranquil-

ized; if in the latter, the experience of past errors may lead us to a more consistent plan of future exertion.

The volunteers of Ireland, in the year 1782, had emancipated their country from a foreign yoke, and given to their Parliament the means of being independent. Every friend to what is now called rational liberty, must lament that the efforts of the democrats of that day, some of whom, indeed, seem well disposed by their present conduct to atone for their past indiscretions, were not circumscribed by those wise and salutary laws, which I mention with honor, the Gunpowder and Convention Acts. So it was, however; the people then could meet and discuss public affairs, and had arms in their hands to resist all unconstitutional attacks on their liberties. Their voice, therefore, was attended to in this country and in England, and the Revolution of 1782, was accomplished without bloodshed. They saw, however, instantaneously, the imperfection of their own measure, unless accompanied by a reform in Parliament. They could not be always in arms, and they had no hopes of operating, save by fear, on a body, in whose election they had no voice. England had, it is true, been forced by their virtue and spirit, to renounce her usurped right of binding them by the act of her Legislature; a mode, at all times odious, and now become unsafe; but she had an easier and more plausible method to effectuate her purpose. An English Secretary had the command of the Irish Treasury, to purchase Irish liberty and Irish commerce, from an Irish Parliament. Ancient villanies were acted under new names. The mischief which had been done, gratuitously, by England, was now perpetuated by venal majorities, paid with the money of Ireland, whose interests were sacrificed. By a kind of circular process of destruction, the nation was loaded with taxes, for the purpose, not of maintaining, but of abridging, her natural rights. The burden was, itself, a grievance, but the purposes for which it was imposed, was a much greater grievance. The very spirit of taxation was reversed in Ireland. Money was profusely voted, not to cherish the commerce we had, and to open new branches, but to purchase restrictions and limitations in the one case, and to lay an eternal bar in our way in the other. Ireland appeared to sell her commerce and constitution to England, and to pay herself for the sacrifice with her own money; she

taxed the portion she had obtained to reimburse herself for that which she renounced, and the trade of Parliament was that, of all others, which experienced the most immediate and rapid improvement from the Revolution of 1782. Gentlemen could not take it on their conscience to support Administration on the terms of the old agreement; they had now got something to sell; borough stock rose like that of the South Sea; a seat which would, the year before, fetch, in the market, a bare £1,500, was now worth £2,000; and, on an emergency, perhaps, £3,000. The Minister, on his part, scorned to haggle; he saw that, if gentlemen were obliged to pay such high prices on the one hand, it was but reasonable they should be reimbursed on the other, and his liberality was not fettered by any consideration how his grants should be made good, for he well knew that neither his country nor himself would ever be called on for a shilling. To a man, so situated, it was easy to be liberal. The arrangement was soon made, the parties perfectly understood each other, and the affairs of the nation throve accordingly.

This intercourse, however, so pleasing to him that was to give, and those who are to receive, was not equally grateful to the people, who were to make good the stipulation. They did not wish the boroughmongers of Ireland, of whose merits they were little conscious, to reap the principal benefits of a system accomplished by their labors, and at their risque; a system, too, which those very boroughmongers had, to the last moment, opposed. The volunteers of the four Provinces met, by their delegates, in Dublin, on the 10th November, 1783, and, after solemn deliberation, agreed on a plan of reform, the great features of which were, 1st. To make residence for six months previous to the test of the writ, an indispensable qualification in all voters, whether for county, city, or borough. 2d. To open the boroughs, by increasing the number of electors in each, to two hundred in Ulster, one hundred in Munster and Connaught, and seventy in Leinster, at the least; such increase to be made by admitting all PROTESTANTS, having freeholds of forty shillings value by the year, within the precincts of the borough, or leaseholds for thirty-one years, fifteen whereof to be unexpired, of ten pounds yearly value; and, by annulling all by-laws made in limitation of franchise. 3d. To increase the number of voters

in counties, by admitting, as electors, all PROTESTANTS, having leasehold interests for sixty-one years, twenty whereof to be unexpired, and of the yearly value of ten pounds. 4th. To limit the duration of Parliament to three years. 5th. To disqualify all persons holding pensions, other than for life or twenty-one years, from being elected into Parliament, and to vacate the seats of such as, being members, should accept of place or pension, other than as above, but with a capacity of being re-elected. Such is the outline of the plan of the memorable Convention of 1783.

There is no man will deny, that this plan, imperfect as it is, would have been a great benefit to the country. The abolishing occasional voters by enforcing residence, would have destroyed, what has been called, the *itinerant interest* of Ireland. The opening the boroughs to the degree recited, would, for so much, have weakened the aristocracy, and, by demolishing close boroughs, have prevented much corruption; at least, if they continued venal, the people would have the privilege of selling themselves, and if they had the disgrace, they would have the benefits of prostitution. The infamous traffic of borough interest for peerages, would likewise be destroyed, and a great part of the system of usurpation levelled with the ground. In the opening the right of franchise to termors for years, guarded and limited as it is, a glimmering of reason appears; whatever may be the sentiments of this day, it was then thought by many a prodigious stride, and occupied the attention of the assembly for nearly two days. Even the mighty mind of one of the greatest men this country ever saw, started at the boldness of his own attempt,* and, after apologizing for an act of justice by a plea of necessity, was glad to take shelter under an English precedent, drawn from the case of a rotten borough. So inveterate an evil is the prejudice of ancient custom! The shortening the duration of Parliament, and even the disqualification of placemen and pensioners, imperfect as it is laid down in the convention plan, would have been great constitutional advantages. It remains, now, to examine the defects of the plan, which will also demonstrate the necessary and inevitable causes of its failure.

Its first grand defect, which is equal to all the others, is, that it pays no respect whatsoever to the claims of the Catholics, an omis-

* Mr. Flood's speech, Convention debates, page 87.

sion not accidental, but deliberate, which of itself was sufficient to destroy, and did eventually sink the plan. The inconsistency and injustice of one-fourth of the people complaining that they were not duly represented in Parliament, in the very moment when they were assisting to exclude three-fourths of their countrymen, who were not represented at all, the demanding more privileges for themselves who already enjoyed many, and, at the same time, refusing all participation to their brethren who possessed none, was so outrageous and violent, as no cause, how righteous soever otherwise, could sustain. What was the consequence? The Catholics having made a fruitless attempt to engage the justice and humanity of the Convention on their behalf, had no interest in the success or failure of their measures. Above three-fourths of the nation were alienated at one blow; the remaining fraction was divided; Government stood firm, and the Protestant volunteer convention of Ireland, representing, at the least, forty thousand men, armed and disciplined, were chased with disgrace and derision from the capital—Why? Because they planned an edifice of freedom, on a foundation of monopoly; because they wished to be tyrants, while they complained that they were slaves; because, in advancing their own claims, they disregarded those of their neighbors; because they were selfish and interested, desirous to abolish abuse, so far as it affected themselves, but assisting to perpetuate it on all beneath them. Such a cause could not succeed; it fell as a suicide by its own injustice.

The principle of exclusion which pervades the whole plan, applies, though not with equal severity, to a great portion of the Protestants, as well as to the whole Catholic body. It is not easy to say why, in a borough, a freehold of forty shillings, depending on a single life of eighty years, should entitle the owner, *being a Protestant*, to a vote, while a leasehold of nine pounds ten shillings, for a thousand years, shall be excluded. So in counties, why is no termor, *being a Protestant*, to vote out of an interest of less than ten pounds value, or for a term less than sixty-one years? Because in feudal times tenures for years were less honorable than tenures for life! But are these feudal times? Such will ever be the contradiction and absurdity, when men desert the plain principles of natural justice to follow the beaten track of precedent; when the law continues, after the reason is gone.

The disqualification of placemen and pensioners, as laid down in the plan, if combined with a system of reform, is something; if separated, it is nothing. Send a placemen back to his constituents! and who are his constituents? Perhaps his menial servants, or men as much dependant as those. Doubtless their virtuous indignation will be roused; they will discard the unfaithful representative, whose bread they eat and whose livery they wear, and will look abroad for some more honest and able member to do their business in Parliament. But why except pensioners for life, or a term certain. Is it that a man having received a pension by way of bribe from a Minister, will then desert him, and return to his colors, because the wages of his iniquity cannot be withdrawn? No! Hell itself could not subsist without something like principle. The pension which cannot be recalled, becomes a debt of honor on him who receives it, and every man in society would look with more contempt on him, who having sold himself to the Minister, should afterwards oppose him, or talk of his duty to his country, with the purchase of his integrity jingling in his pocket, than on the thorough-paced and never-failing drudge, who plods on through the filth and mire of every dirty job, without looking to the right or to the left, reckless of character and anxious only for his pay.

With such radical defects, it is, perhaps, not much to be regretted that the convention plan fell to the ground. From its fall we may derive a lesson which cannot be too deeply imprinted on our minds, *that no system, whose basis is monopoly, ever can succeed.* To ensure success, the nation must be unanimous; to procure unanimity, the interest of *all* must be consulted. If our minds be not expanded sufficiently to embrace an idea so simple, yet so grand, we must bend them to an acquiescence in the present system. There is no medium between complete justice and unqualified submission.

The Convention and their plan having vanished like a mist, the question of reform was now to be tried in another shape, but still on the same vicious principle of exclusion. The House of Commons had with great indignation rejected the measure, as coming from an armed body. Statesmen are never to be believed when their interest is concerned. They are indifferent as to the mode; it was the principle they feared, but the excuse was plausible and weighed with many. In consequence, the Reformers

of that day shifted their ground. A new assembly was formed of delegates from all parts of the Kingdom, in a civil capacity, who, after various adjournments, and ineffectual calls on the people to co-operate with and support them, at length, in April, 1785, published an address to the nation, and a plan, in substance the same as that of the Convention in 1783, on which, as containing similar excellencies and defects, it is unnecessary here to observe. So little interest did the people take in this measure, that I know not whether any proceedings thereon were had in Parliament.

From this experiment in 1785, the question of reform lay, as in a trance, until the year 1791. In that year the unparalleled events, which were going on in France, roused the people from their lethargy. In the North of Ireland, a spirit of inquiry and exertion broke out, and the town of Belfast, that great fountain of political knowledge and public spirit, took the lead on this, as on every former occasion, when the independence of their country or the liberties of mankind were engaged. Men set themselves seriously to consider the causes of their former defeats, and they had not far to seek; they found them in their own injustice. They saw the folly and the inconsistency of pretending to claim a restoration of their own rights, while they were themselves parties to the exclusion of their Catholic brethren. They altered their system fundamentally. They extended the base. Their plan was reduced to three simple principles, necessarily dependant on each other, and containing the disease, the remedy, and the mode of its attainment: *First*, that the weight of English influence in the Government of Ireland, was so great as to require a cordial union among *all the people*, to maintain that balance which was essential to the preservation of their liberties, and the extension of their commerce. *Secondly*, That the sole constitutional mode by which that influence could be opposed, was by a complete and radical reform of the representation of the people in Parliament; and, *Thirdly*, That no reform was practicable, efficacious, or just, which should not equally include Irishmen *of every religious persuasion*. Fortunately, at the very moment when this great change was working in their minds, the petulance of Administration had, by multiplied and unnecessary insults, alienated the affections of the Catholic body, who also partook, in a great degree, of the spirit which

the French revolution had kindled over Europe. The enlightened men in the two great sects which divide the nation, cast their eyes instinctively on each other. It required little argument to show them the ruin of their former animosities, or the benefits resulting from union; that their interests, their enemies, their success, their destruction were inseparable. A new light broke forth on their minds. The prejudices of a century were subdued in six months. The Catholics, strong in the justice of their cause, and supported by their new allies, assumed a bolder tone. To the astonishment of Government, of their friends, of almost of themselves, they dared to assert the great principles liberty: "*That no man is free who is taxed when he is not represented, or bound by laws, in the framing of which, he has no power to give, or withhold his assent.*"

Principles so just, compelled their own acknowledgment. Government here and in England were forced to yield to a spirit, of the extent of which they were able to form no calculation. The conjuncture was favorable, the people were resolute, and the Catholic bill of 1793, which restored so many important privileges, and, above all, the elective franchise to that long oppressed body, will remain a splendid monument, as it was the first fruit of the *union of Irishmen.*

By this qualified emancipation of the Catholics, one great impediment in the way of reform is, at least, considerably diminished. The accusation of inconsistency and injustice, can no longer be affixed on the advocates for the measure. In what may be called the new theory of Irish politics, the first step in the system is ascertained, the remaining ones will follow in their order, if not instantaneously, yet certainly. A great difficulty has been surmounted, which if not removed, must forever have sunk all further attempts, as it did all antecedent ones, and the success of the people in the measure which they have obtained, has given them an earnest and a security of success, in those which they have yet to seek, if by their own folly and indiscretion and premature exertion, they do not retard, and perhaps destroy, the noblest cause in which ever a nation was embarked. But of this hereafter. I proceed historically to the next plan of reform, which is also the last which has been submitted to inspection, on the authority of any body or individual, in a public capacity: I mean the bill of reform, presented and dismissed in the course of the last session.

A Letter to the Editor of Faulkner's Journal, of Thursday, July 11th, 1793, in reply to certain assertions contained in his paper of that day.—By THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

EPIGRAPH. "*Chief Justice.* To punish you *by the heels*, would amend the attention of your ears, and I care not if I do become your physician.

"*Falstaff.* I am as poor as Job, my Lord, but not so patient. Your Lordship may minister the potion of imprisonment to me, in respect to my poverty, but how I should be your patient to follow your prescriptions, the wise may make some dram of a scruple of, or indeed, a scruple itself * * * * * *

"*Falstaff.* My Lord, I will not undergo this sneap without reply. You call honorable boldness, impudent sauciness. If a man will make courtsey, and say nothing, he is virtuous. No! my Lord. My humble duty remembered, I will not be your suitor."

SHAKESPEARE, *Henry IV. Part 2.*

SIR: I have seen a publication in your paper, of the 11th inst. in which, as I am told by my friends, and as I myself believe, I am particularly pointed out, and some extracts are given from a paper supposed to be written by me. This publication imports to be a speech delivered by a nobleman of high station in this country; but as such I am not at liberty to consider it. I will, therefore, presume it to be the work of some ingenious personage, who has assumed the situation, and mimicked, with some success, the sentiments and language of that illustrious character; and, in this view, I cannot deny the author considerable merit; there certainly is something in the *manner* extremely well hit off, and which at first imposed upon me completely; however, on looking more carefully, I discovered internal evidence which must, I think, satisfy any reasonable person, that it cannot possibly be the composition of the great personage, whose name you, sir, have ventured to prefix to it. As a man of veracity, he would scorn to advance, against any individual, a charge of the deepest die, utterly unsupported by any thing like fact; as a statesman, he could not be so foolish as to publish to all Europe, friends and enemies, that a few desperadoes, such as he describes, have been sufficient to substract the military force of Ireland from the scale of the empire, and to require an army of observation of no less than six and thirty thousand men. (for such is our present esta-

blishment,) to keep them in check; as a friend to the independence of his country, he would not talk such nonsense as to state that Irishmen could rebel against Great Britain; and above all, as a man of humanity, as a constitutional lawyer, and as the keeper of his Sovereign's conscience, he never could have uttered the following remarkable sentence, which you have put into his mouth: "It is the only misfortune of a free Government, that nothing but *full and legal proof* can bring such dark conspirators to *condign punishment.*"

Whatever may be the opinion entertained by the anonymous writer of this speech as to my principles, I can assure him that I have a very great deference for even the forms of the Constitution. So much do I respect the seals, in whatever hands deposited, that I will treat even this representative of the Lord Chancellor with due decorum; and I will not carry the war into his territories, nor expose his sophistry, his evasions, or his falsehood, further than is absolutely necessary for my own defence. I wish but to clear myself, which, if I can do, I will leave him to God, his conscience, and the tongues of his countrymen.

The charge against me is, that I am one of a faction, whose object is, in the words of the speech, "to rebel against the crown of Great Britain, by effectuating a separation between the sister countries." And the overt acts which are brought forward to establish the charge, are a letter, or confidential despatch, said to be written by me; the founding the society of United Irishmen; the establishing the General Committee of the Catholics, on a plan, procured from my friends and associates in France; and, incidentally, by all these different acts of treason against Great Britain, endeavoring to prevent the crown from employing its troops in the restoration of peace, by facilitating the operations of the powers combined against France.

Before I enter into any justification of myself, I beg leave solemnly to protest against the principle laid down by the writer of this speech, whoever he be, that, as an Irishman, I owe any allegiance either to Great Britain or to the crown of Great Britain. My allegiance is due to the king of Ireland; and I would, to the last drop of my blood, resist the claim of any king, and much more of any nation, under any other title, who should presume to exact obedience of me. I confess this is one of the gross blunders, or worse, of the writer, which satisfied me of

the forgery of the composition. For, whatever opposition the illustrious character whom he personates might have formerly given to the independence of his country; however strenuously he might have supported the usurpations of England; or whatever grief and anguish of mind he might feel at the reflection that all his virtuous efforts were unsuccessful, I am sure he is too wise to broach such doctrines now. Low as the state of public spirit is in Ireland, I think we would hardly tolerate the old system of British supremacy; and I cannot help here pointing out the gross inconsistency of introducing in a speech, whose object is to reprobate all idea of separation, expressions and sentiments of all others the most likely to create doubts and jealousies between the two countries, by reminding the one of what she has been forced to surrender, and alarming the other for what she had so recently extorted, and scarcely yet secured.

I am come now to the grand charge that I am an advocate for separation, and, on that head, I shall be as explicit as the delicacy of the subject and the circumstances of the times will admit me to be. I beg it may be remembered that I never publicly broached this doctrine at all. Whatever I said upon it was merely my own individual sentiments in a private letter to a friend, which was never intended to be made public, and much less written with that degree of caution which I should have used had I expected it would ever have become, as I learn it did become, an object of inquiry before the Secret Committee of the Lords. Nevertheless, I am so clear as to the spirit with which it was written, that I would, at this moment, answer with my life for its contents; and, indeed, it is at least presumptive proof of nothing very objectionable being found in it, that I have not yet been "laid by the heels for it," as I was once threatened by a great man, who afterwards, however, changed his mind.

I likewise think it necessary, in order to obviate a charge of confederacy, implied in the publication which I am answering, to mention that this letter was written in Spring 1791, and my being retained in the service of the Catholics did not take place till July, 1792. The date of the letter will likewise account for any thing contained in it, favorable to the French revolution.

I can well conceive such a connection between two countries as would be highly beneficial to both; so much, perhaps, as to

double the resources and power which either would have if separate. But it must be a connection of perfect equality, equal law, equal commerce, equal liberty, equal justice. Such a connection, founded on the steady basis of common interest and mutual affection, would be immutable and eternal. No good citizen would have the wish, no turbulent partizan the power, to disturb it; every man in both countries would guard and defend it, as he would the muniments of his estate. But I can conceive a connection of a very different nature, where the only community is in the dangers, the risques, and the losses, and where the gains and glory are carefully secured to one party only; and I cannot so far divest myself of common sense as to judge of the two systems by the same rule, merely because they are called by the same name.

If Ireland had been a separate and independent nation to this hour, and if England were now, for the first time, to come forward and say to her, "I think it would be better for us both to be united under one head," with an offer of the connection as it stands, would it be accepted? Would we not answer, that we were as competent to our own government, regulation, and defence, as she was? But, suppose we agreed to accept the offer on certain conditions, such as, that "our common Sovereign should reside here, and she be governed by a Viceroy; that she should surrender her East Indian commerce to us; that our manufactures should be protected by law and hers not," and a few other such, what would England answer? And what is the reason that England should enjoy any one pre-eminence, privilege, or advantage over Ireland, seeing that neither God nor nature have set any mark of inferiority on our soil, climate, or people?

I well know, that change is not made, even from worse to better, without inconvenience; and I am sure no man in Ireland will ever think of the question of separation, unless gross corruption in the legislature of his country, and a continued sacrifice of her interests to England, shall compel him. It is false, to say the people are giddy, and prone to change; they are the reverse. If ever their minds are alienated from the connection with England, it will only result from extravagant misconduct in their own rulers, who, with a mistaken zeal to recommend themselves to their employer, persist in bending the Con-

stitution and commerce of Ireland under the oppressive weight of British influence. If that shall ever happen, and if the palpable operation of this influence shall force the question upon men's minds, whether they will or not, the true, genuine, and efficient advocates for separation, are those who would ground their own elevation and security on the merit of sacrificing the commerce and independence of Ireland to the monopoly and ambition of Great Britain. These considerations, and the despair I felt of ever seeing the corruptions of this country removed, (all which I trace to the necessity of maintaining an influence ruinous to the interests of Ireland, and only to be supported by such vile means,) first compelled me to entertain, even in idea, the question of separation; a question of weighty and serious import indeed; a question not to be agitated but upon great provocation, nor to be determined on but in the last extremity: for, on the result of that determination depends the fate of one, perhaps of both countries. Serious as it is, it must, however, and will, infallibly, arrive at some period, unless a speedy and effectual check be given to the continuance of existing abuses and corruption.

But perhaps the fact of British influence may be denied. I am happy to be able to select one instance, where it has been exerted *beneficially* to Ireland; which will establish the point. The Catholics of this country applied to their own Legislature, and their own Minister; they were spurned with unnecessary contempt. They applied again, and were again rejected. They then determined they would apply here no more. They assembled and framed a petition to the King, and they sent it by some of their own body to England. What was the consequence? The English Minister, a wise and temperate man, saw they were not to be trifled with. He did not exasperate them by foolish rhodomontades, nor threaten them with the lives and fortunes of all England. He conceded the point magnanimously, and recommended them, (*that is*, exerted his influence as Minister of England) to his friends here, in a manner so forcible, that, since the miraculous conversion of St. Paul, nothing has been seen on earth to equal it. The claims and merits of the Catholics were all at once discovered, as it were by a Divine interposition; the swords of their ancestors fell from the hands of the Corporation of Dublin; the grand juries were illuminated, and withdrew from the field with their lives and fortunes unda-

maged; and, even the grave and steady sage, the deep lawyer, and profound politician, whose opposition was most dreaded, and who was reported to have said, and indeed to have sworn, with equal wit and wisdom, that, "*by the Eternal God*," if those fellows ever came to the bar, it should be through the Dock; even he had an immediate revelation, and was, "Pro pudor!" converted with the common herd. For the honor of the consistency of that great character, I must admit, he certainly made wry faces, and gulped hard; however, he did swallow the pill, as he has been obliged to swallow some others. Surely, after this, no man will doubt the fact of British influence.

But to return: My theory of politics, since I had one, was this: What is the evil of this country? British influence. What is the remedy? A reform in Parliament. How is that attainable? By a union of all the people. For these three positions, fire will not melt them out of me; I have always maintained them, and always shall. But of this creed, separation makes no part. If it were *res integra*, God forbid but I should prefer independence; but Ireland being connected as she is, I for one do not wish to break that connection, provided it can be, as I am sure it can, preserved consistently with the honor, the interests, and the happiness of Ireland. If I were, on the other hand, satisfied that it could not be so preserved, I would hold it a sacred duty to endeavor, by all possible means, to break it, even though for so doing, a great lawyer were to tell me "*that I was rebelling against Great Britain.*"

I am not one of those who think, that, by admitting that a measure may lead to separation, we are precluded from further argument. I think the mention of separation is neither treason nor blasphemy. I am sure, no wise Minister will ever let the possibility of that event out of his head. If he does, he will repent it. I can conceive circumstances more ruinous to this country, than even separation; and I will tell the anonymous author, who has assumed the character of a great statesman to vent his own folly, that he had done better in not stirring the question. Public opinion is an uncertain thing, and it is therefore possible, that the investigation may not, in the long run, serve his side of the argument. He has made what was matter of faith, subject to reason; what no man scarcely ventured to lift up his head and look steadily at, is submitted to general inspection and inquiry;

and where is the security, that the people may judge in the manner which the author of the speech thinks the right one. I cannot help thinking, therefore, that it would have been more wise, as well as more honorable, if the private correspondence of so obscure an individual as myself had been suffered to pass unobserved. For, when a new doctrine of any kind is broached, it is apt to make proselytes, even by its novelty, and there is no knowing where it may end. Of this I am sure, that, were I Minister of England, the question of separation is one of the last which I would wish to see brought forward to public discussion.

Knowing, as I do, the possibility of preserving the connection between the countries, on the easy terms of equal justice to both, I confess I stand amazed at the shallow policy of those who can risque it for little temporary advantages to England and to themselves. Were it necessary to prove an axiom, it might be shown, that the more Ireland is benefitted, in all respects of commerce and constitution, the more strength does England acquire, and the more is the connection rivetted; yet, obvious as it is, I fear, judging at least from appearances, that neither England nor her instruments in this country, are yet aware of the truth of this position.

I have now unwillingly touched upon a question, which I never would have introduced, had I not been forced, by the attack made on myself. I have gone, not as far as I could, but as far as I durst; for I am arguing with a man who has thirty legions. God knows, but in what I have said, I may have unintentionally rebelled against Great Britain; and, if it be so, from some late samples I have seen, I fear I shall meet with very little mercy. If, therefore, my argument be not as forcible as it might, let it be remembered that I am wrestling in fetters, and that my adversary, like Lord Peter, can call in a file of dragoons to support his thesis, and force me to swallow his "*damned brown crusts for mutton,*" whether I will or not.

I come now, Mr. Editor, to a confidential despatch from a gentleman "who wears a bar gown," meaning as I am told and believe, myself. When I was told some time ago, that some letter of mine had arrived to the unexpected honor of being made a subject of inquiry, and that the original was said to be in the custody of the illustrious personage whose name you have taken

upon yourself to prefix to the paper which you are pleased to call his speech, I became somewhat curious to know what that letter could be, and having learned that, I prosecuted my inquiries somewhat farther. I do recollect very well my writing a letter early in 1791, to a particular friend of mine, which letter enclosed the "*Declaration*" of the first society of United Irishmen in Belfast, of which I admit myself to be the author, and let what can be made of it. But through what channel it may have passed to the hands of the illustrious character in whose custody I am told it now is, I cannot answer, nor for what mutilations or interpolations it may have suffered on its way. I could wish for my own justification I had the letter; for when I wrote it, I thought it of so little importance, that I kept no copy, nor even made a memorandum of the date.

I am, therefore, obliged to take it on the dubious authority of the author of the speech, and admitting that, I see nothing in its principles which I am disposed to retract; but I would venture to assert, upon memory, for, as I said already, I have no copy, that in the first paragraph quoted, there is an error in the expressions. It is printed thus: "*We* have not inserted it in *our* resolutions, and *we* have not said a word which looks like separation, although in the opinion of *our* friends, such an event would be the regeneration of Ireland." This is evidently meant to convey something of the idea of a combination or conspiracy, which is utterly false. The declaration and the letter, as I wrote them, were solely my own act. When I had sketched the declaration, I showed it to some gentlemen, whose names I mentioned in the letter, and it met with their approbation. Their names, the author of the speech has not ventured to insert, because he was cunning enough to see that if they were made public, it would blow up his inuendo of a conspiracy into the air; he calls them, therefore, "my associates, some physicians, a barrister, &c."

Whom he meant by the expression "our friends," is, I suppose, explained in the next sentence, which runs as follows:

"These are the sentiments of this father of the society of "United Irishmen, who has been voted upwards of a £1000 "sterling by the Catholic convention, and who struck out for "them that plan of election which he received from his friends "and associates in France."

Here are four heavy charges, in as many lines. Of each in their order, and first of the first.

1st. So far as writing the declaration of the first society of Belfast, the first indeed in the kingdom, and being a very early member of that of Dublin, I plead guilty, and I remain, in every syllable I have there written, precisely of the opinion I was when I wrote it; I have not one word to offer in justification.

2d. To the second. I have been voted upwards of £1000 sterling by the Catholics. I am proud to own it; it is a connection wherein I glory. It is a reward spontaneously voted, for services fairly done, and sacrifices, I will say it, *disinterestedly* made. When I first wrote a little book on the Catholic question, I was not acquainted with one member of their body; that circumstance introduced me to their notice; they retained me in their service, and I served them faithfully. I have received from them an honorable discharge, and I am satisfied. I will further assure the writer of the speech, what he will perhaps find it difficult to conceive, that I think myself a richer, and a happier man with £1000 sterling, earned as I have earned it, than I should if I were Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with ten times as much a year, and the conviction that I had purchased my wealth and honors, by betraying the liberties and independence of my country.

3d. The next charge is, that I struck out for the Catholics the plan for the election of their convention. This charge, I am heartily sorry, is not true, for were it so, I should have the satisfaction to think I had rendered them a service, in some degree adequate to the benefits and the kindness which I have received at their hands; and I assure the author of the speech that I should not shrink from the honor of being the inventor of the plan, though I were convinced that I might thereby give mortal offence to the illustrious personage who is made, with such asperity, to censure me, a personage indeed about whose favor, I neither have been, nor am remarkably solicitous.

4th. The next charge is rather more serious. It is no less than that I received the plan, which I am just said to have myself struck out, from my friends and associates in France. There are some charges which admit but of one answer. As I presume that the author of the speech meant to convey an imputa-

tion of the deepest dye, I shall give him the only reply he deserves, by telling him his assertion is a gross and malignant falsehood.

And here, if I had any doubt before, I would be satisfied that this same speech could not possibly be the composition of the noble and illustrious personage whose name is so audaciously prefixed to it; for surely that noble and learned personage is infinitely too just to endeavor to affix on an innocent man, whose success in life must depend on his preserving a fair character, who could never by any possibility have injured him, who has not the honor, nor even the wish, in the smallest degree, to know him, a charge of so heinous a nature, and, at the same time, so utterly unsupported by the smallest shadow of truth. God knows in those days of gunpowder acts, and alien acts, and treasonable correspondence acts, and convention acts, what may or may not be an act to bring a man's life in jeopardy. It may not be long the "only misfortune of a free Government, that "nothing but full and legal proof can bring such dark conspira- "tors to condign punishment." When all ordinary modes of investigation fail, perhaps we may see the rack come in for its turn, and force the unwilling culprit to furnish evidence against himself.* There are minds, cruel and cowardly, to whom such a speculation may not be undelightful, and I remember to have read in a book, called the history of England, how a certain Lord Chancellor, (I think his name was Wriothesly) tortured with his own hands, in the tower of London, a certain Anne Ayscue; (but that was indeed, and the author mentions it as such, rather a violent act.) Thank God we live in times when such things are not. To the "*misfortune of a free Government*," a culprit can be convicted as yet only upon full and legal proof, a restraint upon the sallies of a great mind, eager to arrest sedition in its progress, which I do not much wonder the fictitious author of the speech should think extremely hard and unreasonable.

I remember to have lately seen a state paper, in which, by the suppression of dates, by the juxtaposition of remote facts, and the separation of connected ones, something like a plausible narrative was made out, every syllable of which, separately

* *Note of the Editor.*—This was prophetic.

taken, was true, yet, the whole together, as false as the Koran, a mode of composition which the author of the speech has imitated very successfully. For instance, he connects a letter supposed to be written by me in the spring of 1791, when I was not acquainted with a single Catholic, with the formation of the General Committee, which did not meet until Christmas, 1792; and then combining this with the Duke of Brunswick's immortal retreat the autumn of the same year, he infers, that we, the agitators, meaning the Catholics, my friends and associates in France, and myself, had formed, as he has no doubt, a serious design to rebel against Great Britain, and form a Republic connected with France. These are indeed the dreams of the wicked. "*The thief doth fear each bush an officer.*" But what follows on the heels of this alarming discovery, "*that roars so loud and thunders in the index?* Truly, the cruel lenity of the laws, which again intervenes, and ties up the hands of this friend to rational liberty; unluckily, "he cannot convict in a court of justice the persons concerned in this design, for still, to the eternal disgrace, as well as misfortune of a free Government, "*nothing but full and legal proof, can bring such dark conspirators to condign punishment.*" Alas! Alas!

But, though this memorable conspiracy, like its brother, the famous insurrection in England, (which has now blazed with such inextinguishable fury for so many months, and no man can yet tell where,) has not been thoroughly defined, or digested, so as to be carried into effect; yet, the authors of it have not been idle. Until they can produce their army of Sansculottes, which is lying, like Mr. Bayes, disguised, in Donnybrook, they amuse themselves piddling with lesser game. They have, therefore, merely "pour passer le temps," totally demolished all credit, public or private, in the country. In the month of August last, says the ingenious and veracious author of this speech, public and private credit were at the highest, public securities above par, and, in November, they had fallen twenty per cent. Private credit fell so low that no man could obtain £100, though specie was never so plenty in Ireland. It appeared in evidence, upon oath, before the Privy Council, that the distress of the manufacturers was owing to the National Guard, and to the United Irishmen. Now all philosophers agree, that no more causes are to be admitted in any hypothesis

than are true, and sufficient to explain the phenomenon. I agree with the author of the speech in the fact, but I differ, totally, in the mode of explaining it; and I will not so far imitate him as to give assertion for proof, and authority for argument, for I will support what I say by facts and dates, and, to do so, I must go a little farther back than August last.

The Catholics had, some time before that, begun the elections for their convention, from the beginning to the end of which neither riot, tumult, nor breach of the peace occurred, to the great contristation and disappointment of their enemies. The assizes which usually begin towards the latter end of July, gave an opportunity to some distinguished characters through the country to marshal their respective grand juries in battle array, and they did so to some purpose. From one end of Ireland to the other, nothing was to be heard but the most outrageous and clamorous attacks upon the Catholics, and their truly respectable chairman. Some cried out the Papists were bringing in the French, and others that they were bringing in the Pretender; some that they would leave us in absolute submission to the Pope, and others that they would plunge us into the horrors of a wild democracy; but all agreed, with a noble disregard to property and existence, which I know not how sufficiently to admire, to stake their lives and fortunes in support of the King, the Constitution, and something which was then called the Protestant ascendency, but is now become an obsolete phrase. All this bustle, and confusion, and rout, and alarm, certainly did create a good deal of uneasiness in the public mind, and some apprehension lest tumults, at least, if not worse, might ensue, for the Catholics proceeded with the cool resolution of men who seemed to be in earnest, and the blustering braggadocios of the grand juries, were, by many, mistaken for the ebullitions of genuine courage, determined not to recede; and, indeed, these idle rhodomontades were countenanced by men who should have known better. I have heard of one illustrious personage who, overlooking the gross impropriety of such a measure, in a Judge, a Peer, and a Minister, attended the meeting of the freeholders of his county, and lent, as far as he could, the countenance of his office to a fulminating declaration against the Catholics, wherein lives and fortunes were lavishly tendered, and the most terrible predictions and menaces held forth, in

case they, the Catholics, persisted in the demand of their just rights. All this being so, is it wonderful that moneyed men, being naturally timid and anxious, and seeing three millions of peremptory Catholics on one side drawn up, and, on the other, so many corporations and grand juries, every man with his life and fortune in his hand, and ready to squander both with the most profligate valor, headed too, by such great and respectable characters, to whose robes and long wigs they had been accustomed to look with reverence—is it wonderful, I say, if they began to be somewhat uneasy and unwilling to part with their money so fluently as formerly? As to the fall of public credit, therefore, I again agree with the writer of this suppositious speech, but I attribute that fall to the intemperate language and foolish bluster of the grand juries and their prompters, enemies to Catholic liberty, and, by no means, to the National Guards and the society of United Irishmen. And as to the evidence, on oath, which the aforesaid writer alleges was laid before the Privy Council, I do not, in the least, regard it; because, in the first place, I have no great respect for men swearing to what is merely matter of opinion; and, in the next place, because I, or any man in the community, is as good a judge, in a case of this kind, as the persons so sworn, or the persons who procured them to swear.

But further, the National Guards, as they were called, did not appear until Christmas, (I mean the two or three individuals who did appear at all.) The stoppage of public credit is stated by the author of this speech to have taken place in November. Now, though I think moneyed men may be very wise men, I do not take them to be absolute conjurers, and, consequently, I say it is much more reasonable to attribute the suspension of confidence to the furious and desperate valor held forth in the manifestoes of the grand juries, (one of which, at least, I could, from internal evidence, trace to its author,) and to the alarm which such foolish and violent measures created, than to the appearance of a corps not then in existence, and which was not even thought of till two months afterwards.

But, in God's name, what was the cause of the downfall of public credit in England, where the ruin and destruction has been ten times as extensive as here? I hope the National Guards did not send over a detachment to seize the Bank of England,

nor have I yet heard that a committee of United Irishmen was despatched to fraternize with the citizens of London, to send the Royal family to the Tower, and create a republic upon the model of France. Yet I declare I have seen such monstrous and incredible lies swallowed without inquiry, that I should not be surprized if such reports were firmly believed. The cant of the day is here "the United Irishmen; in England, the Insurrection." And I remember I saw in London, last January, with a mixed sensation of sorrow and contempt, the strange infatuation of the people there; that great city in an agony of fear and terror of they knew not what, until at last they were relieved from their anxiety by the provident care of the Minister, who sunk half a dozen rum puncheons to the bunghole opposite the Tower stairs, and ran a screen of slit deal along the parapet, behind which they were told the King and Constitution were quite safe from the attacks of the French, the Devil, and Tom Paine, and they believed it, and were satisfied.

With us it was not much better. Half a dozen men appeared last Christmas in green jackets. Immediately the alarm was given. The Gauls were in the capital. All parties ran to oppose the common enemy. Government and Opposition flew into each other's arms; they swore an everlasting friendship, and the United Irishmen were immolated as the symbol of their union. The House of Commons presented a most delightful and edifying scene of harmony and affection. Business went on upon carpet ground, for when those gentlemen do agree, as Puff says, their unanimity is wonderful. The gunpowder bill was passed; the volunteers were disarmed; the people of Belfast were dragooned. What matters all this? It was all to punish the United Irishmen, a race of men who have been much more serviceable to their enemies than to their friends. Now we have a convention bill, still to vex the United Irishmen. Unluckily, however, these acts operate upon the nation at large, full as much as upon this obnoxious society; and, if the liberty of Ireland were crushed and lying at the mercy of an arbitrary Minister to-morrow, the United Irishmen would not be one jot more enslaved than any other men in the community.

See now what comes of all this. In England, the cry of Republicans and Levellers is set on foot by the Ministers, backed with a most alarming insurrection. Where is it? Where is it?

Do you ask, says one Minister, do you ask us to reveal the situation of the country to the enemy? If we were to mention *where*, it might have the most ruinous consequences. It is a secret. What, says another Minister, do you ask us to tell what all the world knows? Can any man shut his eyes upon it? It is, alas! but too notorious. There was no standing such authentic and consistent information. All England poured in with their lives and fortunes, and what have they got? A war, the first year of which, indeed the first six months, has produced seven hundred bankruptcies, and the probable end of which no man can foresee.

In Ireland, the cry is, "The United Irishmen," and the nation seems very wisely determined to surrender its liberties to spite that turbulent society. I confess, however, I, for one, cannot see the wisdom of such a procedure. If I were not a United Irishman, I think I would argue with myself, that though they were fools and madmen, that was no manner of reason why I should be a slave, and I would not give the least countenance to an arbitrary law restraining my own liberty, because it happened to affect theirs also. However, of that the nation is itself the best judge; and it has always been a principle of mine, that if a people choose a bad Government they ought to have it, for I acknowledge no foundation of empire, but their choice.

I cannot help delighting myself sometimes with the brilliant prospects which lie before my country at this hour. I anticipate the halcyon days of rational liberty, when no United Irishmen shall dare to show his face but through the bars of Newgate; when the peaceful slumbers of our statesmen shall no more be broken in upon by the rattling of volunteer drums; when the people shall not meet in tumultuous assemblies, or at all, under color of petitioning; when the same delightful unanimity which has produced such gloriouseffects in this session, shall forever pervade our Senate; when no man shall learn the use of arms but the troops, appointed conservators of the liberty of Ireland; when the friends to the constitution, liberty, and peace, having discharged their functions and brought back the public mind, are retired to their own place, and enjoy in silent satisfaction the consummation of their wise and patriotic labors; when no clamorous demagogue disturbs the land with obsolete

notions of what he calls liberty; when the newspapers are silent, all, save that over which you, Mr. Editor, so worthily preside; when protected by a force of 36,000 men, every placeman and pensioner sits under his own vine and his own fig tree, and takes his Burgundy in peace. Happy days! These will, indeed, be *golden times* for those who will enjoy them.

But, to be serious. I am very much afraid that that great statesman was right, who said, "we were a people easily roused and easily appeased." We are, indeed, appeased now with a vengeance. Whether we shall ever be roused again, God knows, but, in the mean time, we are tied pretty fast with parchment bonds. I will not, however, be guilty of the abominable sin of despairing of my country. I will hope that the genius of the land will yet rouse, like the strong man, and snap asunder the fetters with which the Philistines have bound him in his sleep. For, let it be remembered, that though Sampson had his eyes put out in his day, and was also brought out of his prison into the House of Lords to make them sport, yet they had no great reason to triumph in the event; for he prayed to the Lord and bowed himself with all his might, and their house fell upon the Lords and slew them, with all that were therein, to the great loss and dismay of the aristocracy of those times.

I have now done, Mr. Editor. There is a great variety of matter in other parts of this composition which I might observe upon, had I not determined to make my reply purely defensive. I know not what may be the issue of even what I have said, but, whatever it be, I must, perforce, endure it, and certainly if any man in power has a wish to wreak his vengeance in security, now is his time, when the public spirit is in a state of the most abject and contemptible prostration, and when it is a crime of sufficient magnitude to warrant any degree of punishment that the person accused is connected with the committee of the Catholics, or a friend to the citizens of Belfast, or, above all, a member of the Society of United Irishmen, three circumstances which I have the fortune to unite in my individual person.

THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

I.

Statement of the light in which the late act for the partial repeal of the penal laws, is considered by the Catholics of Ireland.

In the statement I am about to make, I would be understood to give merely my opinion from appearances, as they strike me; I am not acquainted with any intentions of the Catholics, from authority; I speak only from conjecture as to their *future conduct;* as to their *present feelings*, I collect it from such communication as I occasionally hold with members of their body.

The Catholics consider the late advantages which they obtained, as so much extorted from the necessities of Government, under a lucky combination of circumstances: of course all gratitude is out of the question. Knowing, however, their own internal weakness, they are extremely anxious and irritable on the least appearance of attack; and certainly the line of conduct which has been uniformly followed, during and since the passing of their bill, does in nowise tend to lessen their jealousies and their fears.

The excluding them from the freedom of this city, is, in my humble judgment, a very unwise measure. The accession of strength to them, if they succeeded, would be nothing; but their pride is wounded, and, still more, their apprehensions are perpetuated, by the maintaining, in trifling objects, the principle of exclusion. They conclude that the animosity against them is as violent as ever, and only waits for a convenient opportunity to break out in perhaps a renewal of some of the old Popery laws. This circumstance, therefore, is one cause of the discontent which I know exists in their body.

But the late prosecutions have given them, as they consider, much more serious cause for alarm. They certainly, and, as I believe universally, consider them as a part of a system, the ultimate object of which is to reduce them to their former condition, perhaps to a worse one. They look on them as fabrications of their enemies, who do not themselves believe a syllable of the evidence adduced to support them; and the terror produced by these prosecutions appears to me to be general.

What they say is this : In order to prepare the way here, and more especially in England, for reducing them to their former slavery, it is first necessary to destroy their characters as dutiful and loyal subjects. For this purpose, insurrections have been raised and fomented by their enemies, in various quarters. The army and the law are then let loose upon them, until repeated executions of the mere rabble have established the fact, and alarmed, in some degree, the property of the kingdom. It is then said the rabble could never act on a system if they were not regulated by men in a higher sphere. Discoveries are pretended to be made, and respectable individuals, especially those who have formerly been active in supporting the late General Committee, are seized and thrown into jail on the testimony of the vilest wretches. It is true, those attempts have failed, either from the blunders or the perjury of the inferior instruments; but, if they had succeeded, the next step would have been to strike at the principal Catholics of Dublin, and then it would have been held up here and in England as a regular chain of conspiracy ; first, that the *mere instruments* had been punished; through them they had come at the *agents* in different parts of the country, and at last they had made out the *prime movers* of the plot in the capital. Such are the discourses I have lately a thousand times heard, and I am sure they have made a very deep and serious impression on the minds of the principal Catholics of Dublin, the men whose names carry the greatest weight with the body at large throughout the Kingdom.

What they conclude from all this is, that there is no safety for them but in running together for support; and I observe, the men among them who used to be the most timid on former occasions, perhaps from that very timidity, most forward on the present. They look on their late acquittal as a crisis in their affairs. If they use it with spirit, it will be a triumph to their cause; if not, it will be looked on merely as an escape, and it will be said that they were fully content with avoiding the gallows. For these reasons they seem determined to take some steps, and, probably, strong ones, immediately.

Such is the result of my observations on what is going forward here. I give no opinion of my own, but merely state what I hear among those Catholics with whom I communicate, and in the foregoing sentiments I am sure that a great majority of them are sincere.

II.

Reasons for the discontent of the Catholics, on the late act for the partial repeal of the penal laws.

It has been a matter of surprise that the degree of favor afforded to the Catholics of Ireland, by the Legislature, in the present session, on the gracious and paternal recommendation of his Majesty, has not produced a greater apparent degree of gratitude on their part; and still more, that any thing like tumult or disturbance should continue to exist in the country. A very brief and plain statement will at once explain the fact, and exonerate the Catholics from the charge of either levity or ingratitude.

To his Majesty, for his goodness and affection to his Catholic subjects, and more particularly for his last most gracious interposition in their behalf, they feel the most lively and animated sensations of grateful acknowledgment; at the same time, it is with the deepest regret that they cannot but see his benign wishes to procure the cordial union of all his subjects in support of an excellent constitution, in a great degree frustrated, and his intended benevolence to his loyal subjects rendered void by the conduct of certain personages in power here, whose wish seems to be to perpetuate disunion among his people, and to destroy all sense of obligation in the very moment of conferring a favor.

The Catholics of Ireland were prepared and willing to allow for every degree of prejudice and opposition to their emancipation, previous to his Majesty's gracious recommendation of their state to the wisdom of his Parliament; but after that signal proof of the royal wisdom, clemency, and goodness, it was with the utmost degree of anxiety and alarm that they saw, early in the late session, a personage, who, from his elevated station, must be presumed to carry great weight and influence in Administration, rise in his place, and oppose the measure of intended relief with the utmost pertinacity and virulence, while other and inferior servants of Government, held language not inferior in violence and outrage. It was matter of little less terror and alarm to them, when a secret committee was insti-

tuted, and it was industriously hinted about that discoveries of great crimination were expected to be made against certain of the most active members of their body; and though those persons were so conscious of their innocence as to offer, to a great personage here, to be examined in the most public and solemn manner, touching any matter which could be alleged against them, yet, comparing the present measure with the general discourses and known views of those who set it on foot, they could not but consider it as levelled at their hopes of success. After some time, a report from that committee was published, wherein, by a continued series of misrepresentation and misstatement; by suppression of dates and signatures; by separation of concurring facts, and juxtaposition of remote ones, an impression was labored to be made on the public mind of what was too grossly false to be directly asserted, that those members of the Catholic body had been concerned in existing insurrections or tumults in certain parts of the country, and had actually sent money to the insurgents, commonly called "Defenders." And this report was accompanied with a promise of future discoveries, which have never since appeared, and which, it is presumed, were never made, but which were stated to be of a nature so gross, that, when revealed, they would appal the nation. This report and promise, the Catholics of Ireland did, and do, consider as an outrage upon truth, and a direct attack upon the honor of their body, made for the purpose of rendering them suspected by their Sovereign, and odious to their fellow subjects, thereby more securely and certainly to thwart their hopes of emancipation, and to render nugatory his Majesty's royal interposition in their behalf. And further, when at length the bill for their relief was in the very act of passing, it was accompanied with the most serious and violent invective from the same elevated character who had uniformly opposed its progress, and with the most positive declarations that no future degree of favor was ever to be hoped for, under any circumstances; a mode of conduct altogether opposite from any thing like conciliation or regard, and tending directly to frustrate his Majesty's gracious wish, expressed repeatedly from the throne, to unite all ranks and descriptions of his subjects in support of our excellent constitution.

When the bill had passed, the General Committee of the Catholics was called together; they expressed their gratitude in the warmest manner to their Sovereign and to Parliament; and then, having, in a great degree, accomplished the object of their delegation, to avoid the most remote appearance of disrespect to the Legislature, they dissolved their body. But this has not saved them; for, notwithstanding their delegates were honored by a most gracious reception from Majesty itself, who, out of his paternal goodness, was pleased to admit them to his presence, yet a bill has since been introduced, and carried by the same influence which has ever been found so hostile to the Catholics, reflecting, by direct inference, in the severest manner, on the said General Committee, as an unlawful and tumultuous assembly; and thereby, in a certain degree, censuring the conduct of our most excellent Sovereign himself. This bill, and the language uniformly held by the mover and supporters thereof during its progress, the Catholics also consider as a severe and unjust charge against their body, and as, in fact, an effort of posthumous malice against their late General Committee, after its dissolution; all which has and does only tend to lessen the value of any benefit conceded, by mingling suspicion and insult in the very moment of conferring an obligation.

The same influence of which the Catholics complain, has been, ever since the passing of the bill, exerted to prevent their reaping any benefit even from the privileges of which, by law, they are now capable. In the city of Dublin, where that influence is omnipotent, it has been exerted to prevent their obtaining their freedom, and, as if to mark the line of separation more strongly, in the very moment when their applications were rejected, the right which was withheld from them, was granted as a matter of favor, and with every circumstance of the most flattering compliment, to one of the most scurrilous and abusive of their calumniators—a circumstance of unnecessary insult, which has made a deep impression on their minds, and which, combined with others, they cannot but trace up to the same source.

In the University of Dublin, an attempt has lately been made, by the same personage, to throw difficulties in the way of Catholics obtaining degrees, which, though defeated by one or two learned members of that body, still confirms the exist-

ence of that principle of exclusion which would, if carried into effect, continue the Catholics of Ireland, what no good subject should wish to see them, a divided people, with a separate interest.

In the appointment of magistrates, the same principle was taken up at first, but has since, in a certain degree, been foregone.

In the militia, a new and untried measure, which certainly demanded, in times like the present, the utmost degree of delicacy and conciliation, the same principle has, and, as the Catholics cannot but think, under the same influence, to a very great degree, been adopted. Very few Catholic gentlemen, such as would naturally have an influence among their own people, have been admitted to the rank of officers, which is the more extraordinary, as their ranks are filled by their members; on the contrary, the fears of an ignorant populace being excited, when, in some counties, they broke out into a tumultuous resistance to the law, instead of explaining the nature thereof to the unhappy wretches, they were subjected to severe military execution; and, what is still more grievous, advantage has been taken of these disturbances, most untruly and maliciously to insinuate that the leading Catholics have been concerned in fomenting the same; whereas the truth and fact is, that the disturbances had no relation whatever to any Catholic question, but originated solely in the fears of the populace of being trepanned and sent for soldiers out of the kingdom, which fears were much aggravated from seeing scarcely any officers appointed in whom they had trust or confidence.

The Catholics, therefore, seeing the language held by men in high authority, in the very moment of concession; seeing the line studiously drawn between them and their Protestant brethren, wherever the influence of which they so much complain can at all operate; seeing themselves continually vilified and abused, by the most false and scandalous imputations, and knowing well that the first step to robbing them of their lately recovered privileges, will be to render them suspected by their gracious King, and odious to their fellow subjects of other persuasions, cannot but feel the most deep and anxious uneasiness at what appears, to their apprehension, the continuation of the old spirit of persecution, if indeed it be not the commencement of a regular system, formed to reduce them to their ancient state of depression and contempt.

Under these circumstances, they cannot be expected to be cordial in the support of a Government so much the object of their fears, and which is controlled by an influence so inimical to them; and they regret it the more, because it fetters their zeal to testify their warm attachment to the best of Sovereigns, whom, above all his predecessors, they are bound by gratitude, as well as duty, to reverence and love. On the contrary, were this imperious persecuting spirit abandoned, the fears of the people would be removed, all disturbances tranquilized, his Majesty's Government meet with that cordial support from the Catholics which gratitude prompts them to, and nothing but the conduct they have of late experienced, and still more apprehend, could suspend; and, finally, Ireland, instead of requiring, as she does, an army of observation of thirty thousand men, deducted from the force of the empire in a perilous time, would be able and willing freely to concur and exert her whole strength in the common cause.

In a time of war, and especially of a war on the principles of the present, which alternative would be most for the glory of his Majesty and the honor and advantage of Great Britain, is submitted to those who are fully competent to judge.

August 20, 1793.

PAMPHLETS & ESSAYS,

WRITTEN BY

Theobald Wolfe Tone,

IN HIS YOUTH,

AND BEFORE HE ENTERED ON THE CAREER OF

IRISH POLITICS.

PROPOSALS AND MEMORIALS

RELATIVE TO THE

Establishment of a Military Colony

IN THE

SANDWICH ISLANDS,

AND THE

LIBERATION OF SPANISH AMERICA.

BY THEOBALD WOLFE TONE.

On the 20th September, 1790, I wrote the following letter, with the memorial enclosed, to the Duke of Richmond.

"My Lord Duke: I take the liberty to enclose, for your "Grace's perusal, a project, to the length of which I will not "add by apologies for my presumption. I conceive it may prove "of important service to England, and, therefore, it has a claim "to your attention. It were easy to have swelled its bulk, by "going more into detail, but if what I have submitted, shall "set your Grace on thinking, there are many subordinate ad-"vantages both in the means and end, which I shall have the "honor to explain. The best proof that I am myself at least "convinced of the advantage and feasibility of the scheme, "submitted to your Grace's perusal, is, that, if it be adopted, "I shall hope to be allowed to bear a part in the execution.

"I have the honor to be,

"THEOBALD WOLFE TONE,

"*No. 5 Longford street, Dublin.*

"*To his Grace the Duke of Richmond, &c. London.*"

In this letter was enclosed the following Memorial:

Plan of a Settlement in the Sandwich Islands.

The voyages which have hitherto been made for discoveries in the Pacific Ocean, though conducted with the greatest nautical skill and success, do not appear to have been instituted so much on motives of political advantage, as from a philosophical curiosity, which, though very laudable, ought, perhaps, to be in such expeditions, but a secondary motive. The recent discovery of the Sandwich Isles, from their singularly fortunate situation, for several purposes hereafter mentioned, has, at length, however, opened an extensive prospect of public benefit.

The Sandwich Isles lie in the latitude of 21° 30′ N. and in the longitude of about 200° E.; the climate nearly resembling that of our West India Islands, lying under the same parallel; the soil, in general, uncommonly fruitful, well stocked with hogs, well watered and wooded, and adapted, as appears from experiment, to some, at least, of the modes of European culture; the harbors are numerous and excellent, the natives warlike and bold, and, notwithstanding the unhappy difference which terminated in the death of Cook, singularly attached to the English. The last words of that great navigator, are, "The Sandwich Isles, from their situation and productions, "bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence in the sys- "tem of European navigation, than any other discovery in "the South Sea." Thus much being premised, the following considerations are humbly submitted:

First. In the first place, in every war with Spain, since the days of Queen Elizabeth, excepting the single instance of Anson, we appear to have totally overlooked her South American possessions, and this, perhaps, principally from the difficulty of maintaining, in health and condition, a force sufficient for her material annoyance in those seas. The weakness of Spain in South America, appears abundantly, from her extreme caution in excluding strangers from any information, but still more from the uniform success of every paltry privateer, or pirate, half armed, half manned, and half starved, in their various attempts on Lima, Panama, Guayaquil, Payta, &c. the last of which was twice taken and sacked, and ransomed by two different crews

of seventy disorderly seamen, each time in the presence of nearly 1,000 Spaniards. From the latitude of about 14° N. to 45° S. a space of above 3,500 miles, the coast of America is rich, populous, superstitious, and unwarlike; in particular, the wealth collected in the various churches, is almost beyond calculation; and from the cowardice of the natives, and the impossibility of effectually guarding a coast of such extent, a considerable part of those treasures must unavoidably fall a prey to the first bold invader. Now, by the discovery of the Sandwich Isles, a safe, healthy, and plentiful station is provided for any squadron which his Majesty may be pleased to order into the Pacific Ocean, a circumstance, in itself, of very great importance, which yet, it is presumed, may, by the mode hereafter mentioned, be considerably improved.

In the second place, which is, perhaps, a branch of the former, the Sandwich Isles lie almost directly in the track of the galleons from the Philippine Isles to America, in the very latitude of the first cape which they make, a circumstance too obvious to need enforcement or explanation.

Thirdly. The very lucrative trade for furs, between the North Western Coast of America and China, cannot be carried on with such facility and success from any other station. From the Sandwich Isles to Nootka Sound, is a month's run; from thence to China, about three, and a lot of furs purchased in the former place for a dozen glass beads, has been sold at the latter for £120.

Fourthly. There is a high probability that every profitable article of West Indian produce, as cotton, indigo, &c. may be successfully cultivated; the climate and temperature of both countries being nearly similar, and the latitude the same. The sugar cane, we know, grows there indigenous, with a strong degree of vegetation.

With these great advantages, whether viewed in a commercial or a political light, it is apprehended that a settlement may be formed in the Sandwich Isles, on a plan somewhat differing from, and with a success very far exceeding that of any colony hitherto attempted, and this at an expense, perhaps, little greater than that of a cruising voyage for a few ships of the line in the channel.

It is proposed that 500 men, under the age of thirty, be selected from the different marching regiments, (and ten times that number would voluntarily embark in such a plan;) that they be chosen of such trades as may appear most necessary in an infant colony; that the corps be properly officered, and that of the officers, three or more be able engineers; that there be sent out a small train of light field-pieces, such garrison guns as may be necessary, and, at least 2,500 stand of spare arms; that they be landed at the island of Woahoo, as being the most fruitful, best wooded and watered, with a good harbor; that a sufficient quantity of land be obtained from the natives by purchase, for the erection of a fort and other necessary buildings, and, if possible, for the raising of corn, vegetables, &c. for the use of the garrison; that the pay of both officers and soldiers should, being most for their advantage, be sent out principally in necessaries; by which means the greater part of the money would be circulated in England; that the officer commanding the expedition, should labor most strenuously to gain the friendship of the natives, and, in process of time, should try the experiment of training a few battalions, like our Seapoys in India; that, at the end of seven years, the soldiers should be allowed their discharge, with the option to return to England or stay in the country; that, to such as chose to remain, be given a certain quantity of land; that, to the officers be given immediately, land, in proportion to the rank of each; that there be constantly one or two sloops of war stationed at the settlement; and, lastly, that, until the colony could subsist itself, which, it is hoped, might soon happen, it be supplied by an annual storeship from England.

It remains to show the peculiar advantages of the plan proposed. In case of a war with Spain, if his Majesty should think proper to order a light squadron of three or four frigates of thirty-two guns, into the Pacific Ocean, they might be cleaned, victualled, and recruited, at the settlement; the natives, who are born mariners, would serve to fill the places of such seamen who might fall by disease or the enemy. Its contiguity to the track of the galleons has already been spoken of; in addition to this, his Majesty would have, in those seas, ready for immediate service, a force of 500 regular Europeans, seasoned to the climate, and eventually, perhaps, as many thousand

brave native troops, if, as appears highly probable, they should be found capable of order and discipline; a force which might defy the power of Spain, and, though inadequate to the task of permanent conquest, abundantly sufficient for a predatory and incursive war. A few hundred of these taken on board, would carry alarm and devastation along the coast of the enemy, of which they are within a month's sure sail, enrich themselves and so their country by plunder, cut the very sinews of the Spanish commerce in the Southern Ocean, and thus render a service to England very much more than sufficient to compensate for the expense of their first establishment.

It may be objected that Spain is too strong in South America for such an expedition to succeed. To this can be opposed the concurrent testimonies of all writers of voyages, to the cowardice and ill discipline of the natives, and the uniform experience that every attack which has there been made, however feeble and contemptible, has succeeded, But, granting that, under the apprehension of such an attack, the Spaniards were to send and keep a force in those seas sufficient to render such a mode of carrying on the war impracticable, still the consequences, though less lucrative to the colonists, would be, perhaps, no less advantageous to Great Britain, by compelling the enemy to maintain an enormous force by sea and land, for the ruinously chargeable defence of a coast 3,500 miles long, and even so, their trade must still be severely harassed and interrupted by a few light corsairs, who would always find a safe and healthy station at the Sandwich Isles. The advantages which would result from a division of the naval force of Spain, it is unnecessary to suggest. What else was the use of Gibraltar in the last war?

To the plan proposed, there occur two objections; the views of Spain, and the expense attending its execution. To the first, the equipment of a squadron for the recovery of that miserable rock, Falkland's Island, loaded with every disadvantage of infertility and intemperature, is a sufficient answer. If a timid, unpopular, and distracted Administration thought a port near the South Seas of such consequence as to venture almost a war, for a dubious right to it, much more may the nation expect now, with a firm Government, supported by the people, where the question of right is incontestable, and the convenience superior beyond all comparison. But, perhaps, so far from leading to a

quarrel with Spain, the system proposed may directly conduce to the preservation of peace. The most infrangible tie between nations is mutual interest, and with a hardy, an enterprising, and a poor neighbor, posted immediately on her most vulnerable part, it is hardly to be thought that Spain would ever commence a quarrel.

As to the expense, it would little, if at all, exceed that of an expedition to Botany Bay with the convicts, the advantages of which, it is presumed, will not be thought to equal those which have, with all deference, been submitted.

The experiment of a colony purely military has not, perhaps, been tried since the days of ancient Rome. For, a situation so remote as the one now proposed, it appears to be the only mode, as it may at first be necessary to coerce the colonists a little for their own future good, which cannot so well be done on any other plan. In a word, the idea is to construct a settlement on somewhat of feudal principles, to reward military attendance and exertion by donative lands, to train the rising generation to arms and danger, to create a small but impenetrable nation of soldiers, where every man should have a property, and arms and spirit to defend it, to temper the ferocity of the natives by the arts of European culture, and to call forth from the tomb, where for a century it has slept, the invincible daring of the old bucaniers, uncontaminated by their disgraceful debaucheries in peace, or their still more infamous barbarities in war.

This letter and memorial his Grace was pleased to acknowledge the receipt of as follows:

"SEPTEMBER, 24*th*, 1790.

"SIR: I have just received your letter of the 20th inst. from "Dublin, enclosing a plan for a settlement at the Sandwich "Isles, I cannot give too much commendation to the perspicuous "and compendious manner in which you have stated your pro- "ject; but, as the carrying into execution plans of this sort de- "pend entirely upon the Secretary of State for the Home De- "partment, you should address yourself to Mr. Grenville in- "stead of to me. If you are disposed so to do, and wish me to "send him your letter to me, with the plan it enclosed, I will "readily do so.—I am, sir, &c.

"RICHMOND."

This letter I immediately answered by the following:—

"SEPTEMBER 30*th*, 1790.

"MY LORD DUKE: I confess I was not prepared for the "high honor which your Grace has done me in noticing my ap- "plication to you on the subject of a settlement at the Sandwich "Isles. I beg leave to return my most grateful thanks for a "condescension so very unexpected and unmerited that I know "not in what words to express my sense of your goodness. "With regard to the plan enclosed in my former letter, your "Grace will see that I have rather studied how little I could "say than how much, that I might not unnecessarily trespass "on the time which your Grace owes to your country. I am, "therefore, the more flattered to find that such a mere sketch "has, in any degree, attracted your Grace's attention. I have, "however, thought more at large, and, indeed, gone into the "minutia of the business in a variety of memorandums, with "which, unless you require it, I shall not presume to trouble "your Grace. It is unfortunate for me, and still more for the "nation, (if my plan be what your Grace's acceptance of it makes "me forced to hope it is likely to prove, of public benefit,) that "the arrangement of office should have thrown such affairs out "of your Grace's department. I had, in the hour of expectation, "flattered myself with the hope of your patronage, if my plan "should appear to merit it. Since I cannot be so happy as to ob- "tain it immediately, permit me, with deference and gratitude, "to accept the offer which your Grace has had the goodness to "make, of laying my plan before Mr. Grenville, in whatever "manner you may think proper. May I hope, at the same time, "that, if your Grace approves what I have presumed to offer, you "will accompany my memorial with some certificate of your ap- "probation. If Mr. Grenville shall think proper, I shall have "the honor to detail more fully the imperfect sketch which I have "ventured to submit to your Grace. Whatever may be the event "of this correspondence, I shall ever retain the deepest sense of "your Grace's condescension to so obscure and humble an indi- "vidual as myself. If my scheme be adopted, and I have the "good fortune to obtain the summit of my most ardent wishes, "permission to bear a part in the execution of it, I trust I shall, "by something more than professions, show my feeling of what "the man should be who aspires to your Grace's patronage.— "I am, my Lord Duke, &c. &c. T. W. T."

By the same post, I wrote Mr. Grenville, as follows:—

"SEPTEMBER 30*th*, 1790.

"SIR: A very short time since, I took the liberty to transmit "a plan for a military establishment at the Sandwich Isles to the "Duke of Richmond, to whom I am utterly unknown. His "Grace, with a condescension very unexpected by me, answer- "ed my letter immediately, and informed me that I should have "addressed myself to you. My ignorance of the etiquette of of- "fice must excuse my mistake, which, however, his Grace has "been so kind as, in some degree, to rectify, by offering to lay "the plan before you, which, in a letter by this post, I have re- "quested him to do. You will perceive, sir, that it is but a "sketch. The number of men, the time of service, in short, the "whole arrangement, is but for an example, and may be altered "at your pleasure; but I hope and trust that you will find the "general scope of it worthy of your attention. I have thought "of it so long, and with such increasing ardor for it execution, "that I should doubt my own judgment were it not, in a de- "gree, corroborated by the manner in which the Duke of Rich- "mond has received my proposal. If you should think the plan "worthy of your notice, I shall be proud to go more into detail, "either by letter or personally. If you should think it fit for "adoption, I trust that I shall be allowed my utmost and most "earnest wish, permission to devote myself wholly to its execu- "tion. It is a proof that I am, at least, myself, satisfied of its "merits: when I am ready to stake my whole future success in "life, as I would my life itself on the event. His Grace's con- "descension to me emboldens me to hope that I shall meet with "equal politeness from Mr. Grenville; I therefore take the liber- "ty to subjoin my address.—I am, sir, &c. T. W. T."

The attention of Government was at this time a good deal occupied by the situation of France, and the apprehension of an approaching rupture with Spain, so that it was above three weeks before I received the following answer:—

"WHITEHALL, OCT. 23, 1790.

"SIR: I am directed by Mr. Secretary Grenville to inform "you that he has received from the Duke of Richmond the plan "for a military establishment at the Sandwich Isles, which you

"transmitted to his Grace, and to which you refer in your let-
"ter of the 28th September, and that he will take as early an
"opportunity of considering it as is in his power, consistently
"with the more pressing business which is now on his hands;
"and, should any steps be proposed to be taken in consequence
"thereof, you will hear further from him on the subject.—I
"am, sir, &c.

"SCROPE BERNARD."

This letter I looked upon as a civil rejection of my plan, and determined to think no more of it. However, on further consideration, I made one more effort. Mr. Russell, of the 64th foot, to whom I had communicated all my proceedings hitherto, had gone to Belfast to join his regiment, and there became acquainted with Mr. Digges, an American gentleman, who had, during the war which terminated in the emancipation of his country, served Congress in various official situations. He was a man who, to a most ardent zeal for liberty and a universal regard for the welfare of man, joined the most cool, reflecting head, the most unshaken resolution, a genius fertile in expedients, and a most consummate knowledge of commerce and politics. To this gentleman I transmitted the correspondence between the Ministers and me, and he, in return, supplied me with a variety of hints and observations, most of which are subjoined in the Appendix. Russell and I then reviewed our stores of information, and found that a system might yet be wrought out, which would, as we thought, deserve at least, whether it met or not, the attention of Government. In this hope, I set about the following letter to my first friend, his Grace of Richmond, which I despatched 12th November, 1790:

"My Lord Duke: I have been, some time back, honored
"with a letter from Mr. Bernard, by order of Secretary Gren-
"ville, acknowledging the receipt of my plan relative to the
"Sandwich Isles, which your Grace did me the honor to hand
"over to him, and promising to consider it as soon as the
"urgency of business would allow. Since that time, I see by
"the papers, that we are likely to have a war with Spain, a cir-
"cumstance which, in some degrees forwards, and, in some,
"retards my plan. It has, however, induced me to turn my

"thoughts and inquiries farther into the present state of Spain "and South America, and the result I shall now lay before your "Grace. If, from what I have to propose, there should result "benefit to England, or honor to the patron of the system, I "wish your Grace to have both the gratitude and the glory "which may accrue. My plan, originally, went no farther than "invasion and plunder, to harass and distress Spain in case of "a war. I have since, by means which chance has opened to "me, been led to extend my views to the utter subversion of "her empire in South America, a project of such magnitude as "at first, perhaps, a little to stop your Grace, which yet, I hope, "you will find not altogether so chimerical as its boldness "makes it appear. Your Grace, and every good Englishman "will allow, that we owe this return to Spain, on principles of "strict retaliation. My original plan remains, as to its mode, "unaltered, but the end proposed, differs utterly. The Govern-"ment of Spain in South America, is a Government of the "most grinding oppression; of consequence most hateful to her "subjects, I mean the natives, who are subject to the injuries, "the insults, and contempt, of the natives of Old Spain; these "last hold all places of power and confidence. There have been "several ineffectual efforts by the Mexicans to revolt, of which "your Grace must be much better informed than I; I shall "mention one or two. In 1761, there was a very great tumult, "which terminated in a message borne by the Marquis d'Au-"berade, from the heads of the province, to the present Mar-"quis of Lansdowne, then in the Ministry of England, offering "a large territory and a subsidy of £400,000 per annum, for "the assistance of two or three ships of war, and a battalion of "foot, which were further to be supported by Mexico. This offer, "his Lordship thought proper to refuse, for reasons which it is "not for me to inquire into. If he was, however, only afraid "of ill example to our own colonies, that reason exists no longer. "There was another very serious insurrection, which very "much alarmed Spain, in 1774; another in 1785; another in "1789, when the people seized the royal magazine at Mexico, in "which, by-the-by, they found no arms, so excellently is Spain "provided in South America. These are intelligible hints of "the state of the country, but I do no more than suggest them, "leaving your Grace to draw the inferences.

"Taking for proved the wish of the Spanish colonies for "liberty and independence, I proceed to the means. My "original plan I refer to, as a very efficient part. The force "should be rapidly increased by recruits sent in every ship; the "island should be made very strong, and held as a depot for "great quantities of warlike stores; the spirit of the settle- "ment should be rendered as much as possible purely military, "which would be best done by a qualified revival of the feudal "system; it should be ever open to receive all discontented spirits "from South America; an armament from thence would com- "mand all the western parts of the continent, Panama, Lima, "and Valdivia, which would fall at once. An armament from "Europe, would as effectually secure the eastern side, for how, "with a superiority at sea on the side of England, could Spain "pretend to maintain her power against the whole body of her "colonists, supported openly by us, and secretly as they would "be by the United States of America? And this leads me to a "very material, and, indeed, indispensable part of my plan. I "have lately been enabled to open a correspondence with a per- "son, of whom I do not feel myself at liberty to say more, at "least by letter, than that, from situation and circumstances, "he is of the very highest authority in American matters. His "words in a letter I have this moment received, are, 'the peo- "ple of America will not, on any account, be brought to join "England in any expedition openly against Spain, but they "would undoubtedly take the earliest opportunity of joining "her and other nations in guarantying the independence of "South America, after any effectual progress is made towards "a revolution, or being called on so to do.' This gentleman's "sentiments, I am bound to lay open no further; I have had no "communication with him, other than by letters, but from these, "I conclude him a man of strong sense and ardent spirit; and "from his situation, I at least believe that he has the first in- "formation. Should your Grace honor me by signifying your "pleasure, I can find him out, and shall of course be furnished "with materials of more certainty, and at greater length, per- "sonally, than I can by letter; I have already collected a good "deal from him, and as far as my limited opportunities allow "me to judge, all that he has furnished me with, bears striking "marks of authentic information, collected by an attentive and

"reflecting observer, with enlarged and original views, yet on "a guarded and prudent system. Let me suppose South Ame- "rica free, her liberty guarantied by England and North Ame- "rica, and a wise and equitable treaty of commerce establish- "ed between the three powers. I shall not so impertinently and "unnecessarily trouble your Grace, as to dilate on the infinite "benefits resulting from such an arrangement to all the parties, "but most to your own country. Need I touch upon the glory re- "sulting to your Grace, should you become a prime mover in "this great event.

"The present season is, of all others, the best for immediate- "ly putting the colonizing part of the system in execution; the "men, the ships, the stores, are all provided. Either we shall "have a war with Spain, or we shall not; if we have, we can "immediately attack her in South America, on a system of "plunder; if we have not, we lay an infallible train, which "will, in the lapse of a few years, blow her empire into the "air. In the first case, England will be enriched with the im- "mediate spoils; in the last, more slowly, but more certainly, "beneficially and honorably, by a free and unshackled trade "with all South America.

"I am ashamed so long to occupy your Grace's time, yet I "have labored to be concise. It is impossible to compress all I "have to say in the compass of a letter; and though I do but hint, "I feel that I must appear immeasurably tedious; I, therefore, "earnestly desire the honor of a conversation with your Grace, "in which I could explain my ideas better than by a volume; "at the same time that I could not justify my going to London, "on the mere suggestion of my own wish, unsanctioned by the "encouragement of your Grace's approbation; I would, there- "fore, that your Grace would constrain me to go, by signifying "your pleasure, on receipt of which, I shall attend you with "what information I have already collected, and much more, "which, in that case, I should take a short tour here to collect, "from a quarter to which I have already alluded.

"I entreat the honor of a short letter from your Grace, on "the subject of this. If you think it of probability and import- "ance to bear a further explanation, I shall wait on your Grace "personally, and I hope to be able to show your Grace such a "sketch and materials as may repay your Grace for the trouble

"of perusing them, and at least satisfy you that I have not "lightly, or without consideration, taken up the ideas which I "have ventured to submit to your Grace.

"I am, my Lord Duke, &c.

"*Nov.* 12, 1790. "T. W. TONE."

To this his Grace was pleased to send me the following answer:

"GOODWOOD, *November 25th*, 1790.

"SIR: I received your letter of the 12th instant, offering to "come to London to explain to me more fully the plan you now "have for making a settlement at the Sandwich Isles; but I "can by no means encourage you to take such a journey, at "least on my account, as I before informed you that the sort of "business you have in view belongs to the Department of the "Secretary of State for Home Affairs, Mr. Grenville, and not "to mine; and although I feel much flattered by the preference "you give me, in addressing your letters to me on this occasion, "yet, as I do not wish to interfere with what belongs to other "people, I must decline entering any further on this subject, and "refer you to Mr. Grenville, who, no doubt, will pay to your plan "all the attention it deserves. I am, Sir, &c.

"RICHMOND."

During this correspondence, armaments of all kinds were going forward in England, with the greatest spirit and earnestness; a war with Spain was looked on as inevitable, when, lo! a thing called a *convention* was struck up between the Ministers of the respective powers, and they proceeded by mutual consent to disarm. This bore a frosty appearance for the warm hopes of my friend Russell, Digges, and myself. We agreed, however, to make one exertion more for liberty and Mexico, before we finally renounced it; and, in pursuance of that resolution, though with very little hope of success, I transmitted the following letter and memorial to the Secretary of State, who had, in in the interim, been created Lord Grenville:

"MY LORD: I am with great gratitude to acknowledge your "Lordship's goodness, in noticing a letter I some time since "took the liberty to address to you, on the subject of a settle-

"ment at the Sandwich Isles, which was handed to your Lord-
"ship by the Duke of Richmond. The recent change in affairs
"by the convention with Spain, and some authentic information
"on the subject of her colonies in America which has since that
"time come to my knowledge, have induced me to trouble your
"Lordship with a second memorial on the same subject. I have
"endeavored to curtail my plan to the last degree of brevity. I
"have not impertinently occupied your Lordship's attention, by
"dwelling on what needs but to be mentioned, the advantages,
"beyond all computation, resulting to England from a free com-
"merce with South America. I have barely hinted at what I know
"to be the prevailing sentiment, and earnest wish, of North
"America. But though I have been brief, knowing to whom I
"have the honor to write, it was not so much from lack of ma-
"terials, as from a fear of trespassing on your Lordship's time.
"I have collected not a little information relating to South
"America, with which, if what I now submit shall excite your
"Lordship's attention, I shall immediately attend you person-
"ally. With regard to so much of my present memorial as
"relates to the Sandwich Isles, which I have but just touched
"on, having already and at length submitted it to your Lord-
"ship, suffer me to say but this: If it be, as I have ventured to
"suggest, the policy of England to hold out a prospect of sup-
"port to the South Americans, in their attempts at independ-
"ence, such a settlement will be a powerful instrument in the
"revolution. If we look forward merely to a future war with
"Spain, such a settlement will enable us to distress that coun-
"try to the uttermost, by harassing her commerce and plunder-
"ing her coasts on the Pacific Ocean; or, if a lasting and ho-
"norable peace be our object, nothing will tend so effectually
"to secure and perpetuate it as this putting, I may say, a *ca-*
"*vesson* on Spain, which she will find it impossible to break.
"For, surely, with such an enemy, and so posted on her most
"vital and vulnerable parts, she never will venture to begin a
"quarrel. I shall not longer presume to delay your Lordship,
"but, with all deference, submit my plan to your perusal, and
"remain, in humble expectation of your pleasure. Your Lord-
"ship's, &c. T. W. T.

"*Longford-street, Dublin, Dec.* 7, 1790."

MEMORIAL.

The late differences with Spain, which have been suspended by the convention, furnish a very ample ground for speculation. If it appears that the seeds of a dispute are sowed in the very moment of treaty, and that they must break forth at no very remote period, it is for the wisdom of Government to look closely into the situation of Spain, and, by availing themselves of every advantage resulting from that situation, to prepare for an event that must, at some time, unavoidably, and perhaps very speedily happen. By the late convention, we are allowed to circumnavigate all South America, to within ten leagues of the coast. We are also allowed to erect sheds for fishing, and every where to the southward of the southernmost Spanish settlement. What follows? Will the merchants of England allow their ships to go out in ballast? Will they, after crossing the Atlantic, stop religiously just thirty miles short of the richest ready-money market in the world? Or, if they are so scrupulous, will the South Americans send out no sloop or wherries to meet with and unlade them? And will not a fishing shed be very easily converted into a weather-proof warehouse? If these things be so, in five years the direct trade from Spain to South America will be ruined; she will seize on our vessels at the risque of every thing; for, by war, she can lose no more than, in peace, we shall undoubtedly deprive her of. It is, therefore, scarcely possible, that things can remain long on their present footing. Look, then, to the situation of Spain in South America. There has been, for years, a strong spirit of revolt fermenting in the Spanish colonies, which has repeatedly broken out into acts of violence. The people there are kept in the most abject slavery and ignorance. They are loaded with an unmerciful tax, the King's quinta, devouring one-fifth of their property at every transfer; they are pillaged, without remorse, by needy and rapacious Governors, who equally plunder the King and the people. In some districts, it is a capital offence to read any but religious books, so jealous is Spain of the dissemination of knowledge. But the natural feelings of man cannot be suppressed. The colonists have arisen, though hopeless of ally or protector, in

1761, in 1774, in 1785, in 1789. In the first insurrection, very tempting offers were made to England by the colonists, which were refused, perhaps, that a bad example might not be shown to our own colonies. That reason exists no longer. In the last, the people, to the number of 8,000, appeared before Mexico, the capital, and actually got possession of the royal magazine, which, by-the-by, was destitute of arms. All these risings were suppressed, not by the power of Spain, but by the priests, who are omnipotent in South America. It is unnecessary to multiply arguments, to prove the abhorrence and abomination in which the Government of Spain is held by her colonies. They have, at this moment, emissaries in Europe, and on their way thither, in North America, in England, in the very court of Spain, watching contingencies, and keeping their eyes steadily fixed on the great object, a revolution, which in the natural course of things must happen, and of which, whenever it does happen, England, if she attends to her own interest, must reap almost the whole benefit. If it be taken for granted, what can scarcely be doubted, that the Spanish colonists would rejoice at an opportunity of liberating themselves, is it necessary to do more than mention the boundless advantages which would result to England from an unshackled commerce with South America, the region of gold and silver, populous, lazy, luxurious, a market of probably equal value with all the rest of her trade, taken together? And if South America were free, can it be doubted that England would appropriate to herself nine tenths of this traffic, and the profit? It is, therefore, a settled principle, that the freedom of South America is, in the highest degree, for the interest of England. It is equally certain, that the South Americans long most ardently for liberty. A third point is easily proved, that the North Americans wish most earnestly, for a thousand reasons, that their neighbors should be as free as themselves. Arguments and facts, if necessary, might be adduced to prove it; but the relative situations and wants of the two countries, are in themselves proof sufficient. To forward this great revolution, a revolution extending the blessings of liberty to millions of slaves, the benefits of commerce to three mighty states, nothing, it is true, can immediately at this hour be done: but, if it be probable that the present peace cannot last long; and if it be certain, that it is for the interest of England

that South America should be free, it is the duty of Administration to prepare for the approaching event.

The object proposed is, a free Republic in South America, with her liberty guarantied by England and North America, and a fair and equitable treaty of commerce between the three nations, which would, in effect, though not in form, exclude the rest of the world.

With regard to South America, enough has been said. With regard to North America, Congress, and perhaps still less the President, will not openly appear in the business, because they are a young nation, and will not wish to violate first faiths. But separate states and individuals would embark in the very outset; and the moment matters are advanced so far that a body of Mexicans were in the field, who should call on their northern brethren for assistance, the whole nation would, in their public capacity, formally join in an alliance. The separate states, who would, with the connivance of Congress, first embark, would be the most southerly, Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, between whom and Mexico there is at this hour a channel of communication open, as Spain, by a miserable error in policy, has allowed several of her young colonists to go for their education to Washington College, in Maryland, and the Romish College, in Philadelphia, and proper care is taken by their tutors and fellow students to instil the boldest principles of liberty into their minds, and show them, in the strongest light, the blessings of freedom, and the degraded state of their country, rendered still more striking by the contrast with North America.

With regard to England, she has the strongest temptation that interest can hold out, in the form of the most unlimited commerce with the richest and idlest nation on the globe. She has the plea of strict retaliation for a similar attack made on her by Spain, and she has the honor and the satisfaction of being the instrument, chosen by Providence, to bring light and liberty to millions of slaves, to induce her to embark in the project. Surely these are strong motives. It remains to consider the mode.

All that can be done in the present state of affairs is to make preparation for future events. It is unnecessary and unwise to do any thing so direct as to alarm Spain, but much may be done short of that. A strong military settlement may, and, if

the principles in this memoir are right, ought to be immediately formed at some of the new discoveries, the Sandwich Isles, the Friendly Isles, or Otaheite, but the first perhaps best. The Island should be well secured with a sufficient garrison, suppose 1,000 men, and well supplied with great quantities of warlike stores. This garrison should be silently and strongly reinforced and always held as an asylum for discontented spirits from the Spanish colonies. The natives might be, with ease, so far cultivated as to be of material use in case of any military operations. The soil and climate are so excellent, in every one of the Islands mentioned, that little difficulty, if any, would be found in substituting the necessary force. They should be sent out, not as a regiment on its turn of duty, but as a military colony of volunteers, selected from the line, who should be, after a certain time, entitled to their discharge, and to a quantity of land, subject only to a feudal tenure of service on the Island in case of any emergency; and there should, at all times, be kept up among them, as far as could be, a strong military principle, that principle which has held the rock of Malta for ages against the power of the Turkish empire. If this idea be adopted, it should be done speedily, because the occasion on which the force proposed could be serviceable, is probably not very remote, and, by that time, the settlement would have taken such root as to be efficient in forwarding the great object. Supposing a few years elapsed, and a difference arisen between England and Spain, on the ground of what will infallibly occur, illicit commerce with the Spanish colonies in South America. The natives then will have tasted the sweets of even a partial intercourse. By mixing some very honest politics with trade, flying sheets of information on the topics of general liberty and free commerce may be wrapped up in every bale of cloth, and so be disseminated through the continent. The first of our ships that is seized, as seized they certainly will be, unless Spain is totally besotted, gives the signal for war with Spain, and freedom to South America. A force from North America will speedily appear on the borders of Mexico, from England on the Eastern Coast, from the Sandwich Isles upon the Western, bringing supplies of ammunition and stores and officers to the already prepared Spanish colonists. The flash of liberty will run along their chains like the electric fire, from man to man, and from pro-

vince to province: the empire of Spain, in South America, tottering and feeble, as at this moment it is, will tumble into ruins at the first stroke; with her colonies, her power, and consequence in Europe, fall for ever, for she has no internal strength. To England she will be a harmless foe; to France an ineffectual ally, and the family compact is gone forever.

In process of time I was honored with the following letter from Lord Grenville, which closes our correspondence:

"WHITEHALL, *December* 17, 1790.

"SIR: I have received your letter of the 6th, with its enclo-"sure, and am obliged to you for the suggestions which they "contain. It does not appear to me that, under the circum-"stances now existing, it would be at all desirable that you "should give yourself the trouble of coming over to this King-"dom for the purpose of making any further communications "on the subject, although I feel that, under different circum-"stances, many of the considerations mentioned by you would "be highly deserving of attention.

"I am, Sir, &c.

"GRENVILLE."

Of this letter I shall say no more than that I was very little pleased with it. Nevertheless, as I am a party, I cannot be a fair judge. Hitherto I have abstained from observations, and I shall now preserve the same moderation. It appears that Mexico must owe her liberty to the exertions of more fortunate men than I or my friend Russell. Nevertheless, I shall preserve this book, for I think it curious, and it may in a few years be more so, if the principles laid down, and the conjectures made in it, be verified, as I hope, for the honor of the nature I share in, much more than my private gratification, they may be by the fact.

I could fill the remainder of this book very pleasantly to my own feelings, by philippics against Masters of the Ordnance, Secretaries of State, and Ministers of all descriptions, but I will not—I will go on quietly with my Appendix, in which will appear the germ of my unfortunate plan, which is now deceased, and peace to its ashes.

APPENDIX.

Cook's Voyage, 4to, *Vol. 3d, page* 20.—"Kindness of the natives of Owhyhee," p. 28. Ship timber found by the carpenters, p. 50. "The Sandwich Isles, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence in the system of European navigation than any other discovery in the S. Seas," p. 103. Owhyhee 28 leagues long, 24 broad, 300 miles round, p. 102. N. E. part of Apoona is low and flat; the acclivity of the inland parts gradual; the whole country covered with cocoa and bread-fruit trees; the sides of the hills clothed with fine verdure, and thinly inhabited, p. 86. The Coast of Woahoo to the N. is formed of detached hills, rising perpendicular from the sea, with ragged and broken summits, the sides covered with wood, and the valleys between them of a fertile and well cultivated appearance. To the S. an extensive bay, bounded by a low point of land to the S. E. which was covered with cocoa nut trees, and off it, a high insulated rock, about a mile from the shore. Between the N. and S. W. are apparently good roads, soundings from 20 to 13 fathoms, with a fine river running through a deep valley, the banks well cultivated, and full of villages, the face of the country uncommonly beautiful and picturesque, p. 115. Woahoo the finest Island of the whole groupe; nothing can exceed the verdure of the hills, the variety of wood and lawns, and rich cultivated valleys, all over the face of the country. The climate differs little from that of the West India Islands in the same latitude, but rather more temperate; thermometer about 80; no hurricanes; p. 118. Provisions in great plenty in Owhyhee; 60 puncheons of pork at 5 cwt. used; 60 more for sea-stores, yet no apparent want or deficiency. Population of the Sandwich Isles computed grossly by Cook at 400,000 souls. Atooi about ten leagues in length, a good harbor, though a little exposed to the trade wind; better than those of Teneriffe, Madeira, and excellent water; no wood near enough for ship firing; grass about two feet high,

and fit for hay; soil a reddish brown, stiff and clayey in the higher grounds; fruitful of potatoes, which run to 10, 12, and 14 lbs. weight; weather variable; heat moderate; meat and fish keep well when salted; vegetables principally potatoes, taro, and plantain; abundance of hogs, dogs, and fish. At Owhyhee, plenty of cocoa, bread-fruit, and sugar-cane.

The following Hints and Memorandums were communicated to me by Mr. Digges, an American, of whom I have already had occasion to speak.

There have been several ineffectual attempts made by the Mexicans to revolt from Spain, but I have heard of none in the Peruvian quarter; yet this last strikes me as the most eligible situation for such an attempt, because there is a larger portion of the people native descendants of America, who keep up a jealousy for their old blood and color. The priests too are not so numerous nor richly stationed as in Mexico, where they have a vast power over the people; and, above all, there is a great part of Peru, particularly about Chili, and near the island of Chiloë that has never been conquered by Spain, and the natives hold them in dislike and defiance. I have been told this by two Spanish friars, who passed with difficulty from Mexico to Congress on a secret mission for revolution, and came to me during my agency for America in London, in 1779 or '80, as well as by an old jesuit by the name of Faulkner, an Englishman, who lived lately at Worcester, and spent twenty years of his life near the Rio de la Plata and Peru, as well as by some of my countrymen who have found their way to Mexico from New Orleans and Kentucky.

I am clearly of opinion that no predatory expedition, for the sake of plunder or territory, will do good. The churches must be held inviolable from insult, and the priests offered every thing. Indeed the priests should be the first objects to get at. Through them it may be easily communicated to the people that the expedition is not meant for conquest or plunder, nor to deprive any one of his property, but merely to shake off the Spanish yoke, and make the people their own masters.

In the year 1760, there was a very general tumult in Mexico. It was the people against the Government of Spain, that is, the governors, army, tax officers, who are very numerous, priests, &c. The dispute was about the king's quinta, or one-fifth of all saleable property, bullion, &c. It gave Spain more uneasiness than all the thunders of the memorable Pitt. In 1761, a deputation of respectable Mexicans, groaning under the galling yoke of ecclesiastical hierarchy and tyranny, empowered the Marquis De Auberade to offer Lord Shelburne, then in the Ministry, a large territory and a subsidy of £300,000 a year, for the assistance of two ships of war and a regiment of infantry, the expense of which was also to have been paid by those colonists; but this proposal, though very advantageous, was refused by the cabinet as tending to promote * * * * * * * *. It came to London too, when some overtures had been made for a peace.

There was another attempt to revolt and surprise the king's troops at Mexico, in 1774. I could never get any accurate account of it, although it was currently talked of at Madrid, where I was that winter, and heard in confidence from the Marquis De Auberade, the story before recited. Indeed, it was dangerous at that time to speak about the affair. I was told by the king's librarian, that Dr. Robertson, the historian, then collecting materials for his book, was in possession of the whole story.—The Doctor was too fond of royalty to state it fairly in his history. In 1785, there were risings of the people in great numbers, on account of the king's troops seizing upon some mines a little south of Mexico, but they were soon dispersed by the troops, and by the acts of the priests. The Governor of New Orleans, where several North Americans reside and trade to, received an express over land, about September, 1789, of a serious insurrection of the people in the neighborhood of Mexico, owing to an attempt to seize some mines for the king's quinta. The people to the amount of 7 or 8,000 appeared before and menaced the capital, and had actually got possession of the king's magazine, which, by-the-by, was destitute of arms. They were here again checked by the priests.

During the war between England and America, and even at the period when Spain was an ally to the latter, several Spaniards from the northern stations of Mexico, and particularly four Spanish friars, two of whom were Jesuits, found their way

to Congress, and actually produced a plan for the emancipation of New Spain. Congress had then formed offensive and defensive alliance with the Court of Madrid, and could not violate first faith. Indeed, to this day, it would be very difficult to get that body, and more particularly the President, to engage in any act of hostility against Spain; but the states individually, and particularly those of Maryland, Virginia, Carolina, and Georgia, would secretly give help, and numbers of gentlemen are ripe and ready to assist their southern brethren. Two of the above friars, with a certain Padre Heres Mendez, who was taken about the same time in a ship from Vera Cruz, and was often with the Ministry, and was to have gone out in Governor Johnson's squadron to the Rio de la Plata, were frequently with me, the two former bringing introductions to me from some leading men in Maryland, and were very positive that the slightest aid in ships and troops would bring vast numbers to the standard of freedom, in any part of New Spain. They had a worse opinion of the Peruvian districts of South America, but their arguments never convinced me, for the people there being less under the yoke, may surely be easiest brought to revolt.

At that time two young Mexicans remained in Maryland, which is the most Catholic of the states, and went back since the peace. The consequence of this communication has been, that we have now four or five students at the college of Philadelphia, and Washington College, Maryland, from Lima, Mexico, and Santa Fe. This intercourse will, in the end, I am persuaded, lead to the completion of a most ardent and general wish throughout United America, the freedom and independence of Spanish America. I know there are plans and emissaries now in North America, in England, and in Old Spain, for even near the throne there are Spanish nobles who wish for it, trying to fix correspondences, and to get aid for the revolt. It may take years to accomplish it in this uphill way; but it surely would be accelerated by England now beginning hostilities with Spain, and despatching some small force of ships and men to act on either side of Mexico.

If, without warfare with the natives, England could make a military settlement in the Sandwich Isles, the temperature of the Pacific Ocean would admit of easy excursions into the coast of Mexico, and those places near the Isthmus of Darien, Panama,

&c. At this last place the Spaniards are generally strongest in military and weakest in ships. Acapulco, in Mexico, is better guarded with ships, as the Manilla and Philippine riches flow more into Spain through this than any other part of South America. I fear England will never give up her heretofore constant practice of warring for dominion and plunder. How few wars has that country been engaged in for liberty or for freedom!

The subjects of Spain in Mexico, or those we may call royalists, are very few, but hold the whole weight of power. By every account that I have been able to collect, they do not form near the proportion to the other inhabitants, that our North American royalists did at the period of our revolt. One line of battle ship and a few frigates, with 3,000 soldiers, would insure the surrender of Lima or Valdivia, but they could never be held without aid, and a good understanding with the people. The going there or to any more insignificant port in Mexico, for the purpose of conquest or plunder, would certainly fail of success. Get a station in any spot, and make known that your intention is to free the country, and not injure the people in their rights, and it will insure a revolution.

Members of the Political Club formed in Dublin, 1790, which preceded that of the United Irishmen.

John Stack, Fellow of Trinity College; Wm. Johnson, lawyer; Whitley Stokes, Fellow of Trinity College; T. W. Tone, T. Russell, Mr. Bailie, Mr. Hutchins, Peter Burrowes, Joseph Pollock, Dr. Wm. Drennan, T. A. Emmett, &c. &c.

ESSAYS, &c.

Introduction, by Wm. Johnson.
On Planting, by J. Stack.
On Lotteries, by same.
On the necessity of an independent spirit in the people, by same.
Remedy for the Poor, by associations to employ them, by same.
*On the English connection, by T. W. Tone.
*On the state of Ireland in 1720, by same.
*On the state of Ireland in 1790, by same.
On Sail Cloth, by same.
On the state of the Army, by same.
Defence of Government, by Whitley Stokes.
Conduct of Opposition in the Whiskey bill—Sir La. Parsons.
13 Essays, 23d Feb. 1791—Tom. Russell.
*Poem on the state of Ireland, 1791—Sir Laurence Parsons.
On the want of a law of opinion—Wm. Johnson.
On the expense and dissipation of Ireland—J. Stack.
*On the necessity of domestic union—T. W. Tone.

N. B. Of these essays I have found the rough drafts of the following* in manuscript, and taken the liberty to republish amongst them the beautiful poem of Sir Laurence Parsons.

I. Essay—June 29, 1790—Th. Wolfe Tone.

ON THE ENGLISH CONNECTION.

To every Landlord, Merchant and Manufacturer of Ireland:

I purpose to inquire into a question of the highest import to your honor and your interest. There is not a man of you but is concerned, and, therefore, I demand your most serious attention, praying, only that what I shall lay before you be read with the same zeal and spirit with which it is written.

"Are we bound to support Great Britain in the impending war?"

I do expect that to some it may appear an extraordinary thing to doubt, on a proposition so long received as evident. Perhaps it at first appeared so to myself, but the more I have looked into the question, the more I am satisfied that neither by law, honor, nor interest, are we bound to engage in the present war.

The situation of England and Ireland, considered with regard to each other, has been, since the year 1782, a phenomenon defying all hypothesis and calculation, an empire, as it is called, of two parts, co-equal and co-ordinate, with such a confusion of attributes as nothing less than a revolution can separate and determine. Before I proceed to state my reasons for being so satisfied, it may be advisable to take a very short glance at the present state of this country, which appears to me such as in no age or history can be paralleled. A mighty kingdom, governed by two or three obscure individuals of another country, on maxims, and with views totally foreign to her interest, and kept in this subjection by no other medium, that I can discover, than the mere force of opinion and acquiescence of custom. I confess I behold with amazement a phenomenon which mocks all calculation, to that extreme degree that nothing short of the evidence of my senses could convince me of its existence.

Antecedent to this date (1782) the power of Great Britain in Ireland was so well established by laws of her own enacting, fleets of her own building, and armies of her own raising, that it was of very little moment what were the opinions of Irishmen on any public question. Our woollen manufacture was demolished by a single vote of the English Commons, the appellative jurisdiction torn from us by a resolution of the English Lords, and, in a word, insult was heaped on injury and wrong for so long a series of years, that we were sunk to the subordination of an English county, without the profits of English commerce, or the protection of English liberty. We had ceased to remember that we were a nation, or that we had a name, 'till the genius of American liberty burst asunder a sleep, that seemed the slumber of death; the nation started forth, and, by one bold exertion, shivered the manacles which British ambition had hoped were forged for eternity. Our constitution, our commerce, were enlarged from a dreary captivity, and the name of Ireland became once more respected; her independence was admitted when it

could no longer be withheld, and her imperial crown restored from the felonious custody of arbitrary and jealous domination.

If Ireland, therefore, acquiesced, without a murmur, in all wars antecedent to this period, no argument can be drawn from her acquiescence which will not justify burning the almost inspired volume of Molyneux by the hands of an English hangman. She submitted, because she could not resist, not because she did not see that her interest was sacrificed, even by her own hand. Precedent cannot weigh in an inquiry like the present. The precedent of tyrant and slave will not bind free, equal and equal. We were, before 1782, bound to support the wars of Great Britain, and we were also bound to submit to her capricious and interested misrule; we were bound by Poyning's act, we were bound by a perpetual mutiny bill, we were bound by a legion of laws, not enacted by our own legislature, or shadow of legislature; and what bound us? Hard necessity, the arrogance of saucy wealth, and the wantonness of intoxicated power, dealing out buffets and stripes, to abject submission and slavish fear. Be ye not then the dupes of precedent, nor think that long prescription can sanctify what the voice of God and nature cries aloud in your bosoms is unholy and unjust. If ye admit such an argument, then were the struggles of every man of you, guided as they were by the prime spirits of the land, rebellious innovations on justice and on law; the charter of your liberties is paper; and England, when she has crushed, with your aid, her present foes, is warranted, by your own admission, to turn her fleets and her armies loose against the nation, and reseize the rights which, in the moment of her temporary weakness, you took a base advantage to extort.

I trust you will not admit an argument for your interference, so obviously pregnant with consequences fatal to your freedom. The precedent of Ireland subjugated, with crippled force and broken spirit, poor and divided, must not be held up as the rule of conduct to Ireland restored to her rights, glowing with the ardency of youth and the vigor of renovated constitution, and of infinitely greater extent and internal resources than Denmark, or Sweden, or Portugal, or Sardinia, or Naples, all sovereign states.

You all remember the day of your slavery and oppression and insignificance. Have you considered what you are now? Does

your present situation ever occur, even to your dreams? an existing miracle, which gives the lie to all political experience. A rising and powerful kingdom, rich in all the gifts of nature, a soil fertile, a sky temperate, intersected by many great rivers, pregnant with mines of every useful metal and mineral, indented by the noblest harbors, inhabited by four millions of an ingenious, a bold and gallant people, yet unheard of and unknown in Europe, and by no means of such consequence as the single county of York, in England. Is this statement exaggerated? Is it equal to the truth? If these things be so, does it ever occur to you what it is that degrades you, that keeps you without a court, without ambassadors, without a navy, without an army? If it has not, I will tell you, and I will show you wherein you differ from England. There the Monarchy resides. There, whatever party prevail, the Administration is English, and their sole, or at least, their principal view, is the good of the nation, so that the interest of the Minister and the country are forwarded by the same means. With us it is not so. Our Government is formed of some insignificant English nobleman, who presides, some obsequious tool of the British Minister, who proposes, and a rabble of the most profligate of our countrymen, who execute his mandates. The interest of the Government and of the nation drag different ways, and with the purse of the nation and the patronage of the crown appended to one scale, it is easy to foresee which will preponderate. Hence flow the various grievances of Ireland; corruption in every form, wanton expense, unbounded peculation, sale of honors, judicial oppression, and, though last, not least, the plunging her into all the horrors of a war, in a quarrel where she is no more interested in the eye of reason, than if the difference arose in the moon.

I believe in the history of man there is not to be found an instance, wherein, of two nations equal in all natural advantages, equal in intelligence, in spirit, in courage, one has yet been for centuries content to remain in a state of subordination, unknown and unregarded, drawing her Government, and the maxims of her Government, from the other, though demonstratively injurious to her pride, her interest, her commerce, and her Constitution, and receiving no one advantage in return for such a complete surrender of her imperial and independent rights. When I consider the situation of Ireland at this day, I confess I am utterly

at a loss to account for her submission to such degrading inferiority. Old prejudices will do much, but can they do all this? Or has the wisdom of the Almighty framed some kingdoms, as he has some animals, only for the convenience and service of others?

I have been compelled, by the nature of this address, to touch on the present state of the connection between the countries. I have likewise examined the question of war on the ground of precedent, and I hope proved that, on that ground, we are under no tie. In my next, I shall try it by the touchstone of strict legal right, and I request my readers may keep this, and the few subsequent papers of which I intend to occupy a part, that they may have the whole of the evidence, and examine it together.

N. B. This object he did not pursue in these papers, but developed it in his pamphlet on the Spanish war.

II. *Essay on the state of Ireland in* 1720.—By T. W. Tone.

It is a favorite cant, under which many conceal their idleness, and many their corruption, to cry that there is, in the genius of the people of this country, and particularly among the lower ranks, a spirit of pride, laziness, and dishonesty, which stifles all tendency to improvement, and will for ever keep us a subordinate nation of hewers of wood, and of drawers of water. It may be worth while a little to consider this opinion, because, if it be well founded, to know it so, may save me, and other well wishers to Ireland, the hopeless labor of endeavoring to excite a nation of idle thieves to honesty and industry; and if it be not, it is an error, the removal of which will not only wipe away an old stigma, but, in a great degree, facilitate the way to future improvement. If we can find any cause, different from an inherent depravity in the people, and abundantly sufficient to account for the backwardness of this country, compared with England, I hope no man will volunteer national disgrace so far as to prefer that hypothesis which, by degrading his country, degrades himself.

Idleness is a ready accusation in the mouth of him whose corruption denies to the poor the means of labor: "Ye are idle,"

said Pharoah to the Israelites, when he demanded bricks of them, and withheld the straw.

In inquiring into the subject of this essay, I shall take a short view of the state of this country at the time of her greatest abasement; I mean about the time when she was supposed to be fettered for ever by the famous act of the 6th of George I, and I shall draw my facts from the most indisputable authority, that of Swift. Yet, surely, misrule and ignorance and oppression, in the Government, are means sufficient to plunge and to keep any nation in ignorance and poverty, without blaspheming Providence by imputing innate and immovable depravity to millions of God's creatures. It is, at least, an hypothesis more honorable to human nature; let us try if it be not more consonant to the reality of things. Let us see the state of Ireland in different periods, and let us refer those periods to the maxims and practice of her then Government.

To begin with the first grand criterion of the prosperity of a nation. In 1724, the population of Ireland was 1,500,000, and in 1672, 1,100,000, so that in fifty-two years it was increased but one third, after a civil war. The rental of the whole kingdom was computed at £2,000,000 annually, of which, by absentees, about £700,000, went to England. The revenue was £400,000 per annum; the current cash was £500,000, which, in 1727, was reduced to less than £200,000; and the balance of trade with England, the only nation to which we could trade, was in our disfavor about £1,000,000 annually. Such were the resources of Ireland in 1724.

Commerce we had none, or what was worse than none, an exportation of raw materials for half their value; an importation of the same materials wrought up at an immense profit to the English manufacturer; the indispensable necessaries of life bartered for luxuries for our men, and fopperies for our women; not only the wine, and coffee, and silk, and cotton, but the very corn we consumed was imported from England.

Our benches were filled with English lawyers; our Bishoprics with English divines; our custom-house with English commissioners; all offices of state filled, three deep, with Englishmen in possession, Englishmen in reversion, and Englishmen in expectancy. The majority of these not only aliens, but absentees, and not only absentees, but busily and actively

employed against that country on whose vitals, and in whose blood they were rioting in ease and luxury. Every proposal, for the advantage of Ireland, was held a direct attack on the interests of England. Swift's pamphlet, on the expediency of wearing our own manufactures, exposed the printer to a prosecution, in which the jury was sent back by the Chief Justice nine times, till they were brow-beaten, and bullied, and wearied into a special verdict, leaving the printer to the mercy of the judge.

The famous project of Wood is known to every one; it is unnecessary to go into the objections against it, but it is curious to see the mode in which that ruinous plan was endeavored to be forced down our throats. Immediately on its promulgation, the two Houses of Parliament, the Privy Council, the merchants, the traders, the manufacturers, the grand juries of the whole kingdom, by votes, resolutions, and addresses testified their dread and abhorrence of the plan. What was the conduct of the English Minister? He calls a committee of the *English* council together; he examines Mr. Wood on one side, and two or three prepared, obscure, and interested witnesses on the other, he non-suits the whole Irish nation; thus committed with Mr. Wm. Wood, he puts forth a proclamation, commanding all persons to receive his half-pence in payment, and calls the votes of the Houses of Lords and Commons, and the resolutions of the Privy Council of Ireland, a clamor. But Swift had by this time raised a spirit, not to be laid by the anathema of the British Minister; the project was driven as far as the verge of civil war; there it was stopped, and this was the first signal triumph of the virtue of the people in Ireland.

In one of his inimitable letters on the subject of Wood's halfpence, Swift, with a daring and a generous indignation, worthy of a better age and country, had touched on the imaginary dependence of Ireland on England. The bare mention of a doubt on the subject, had an instantaneous effect on the nerves of the English Government here. A proclamation was issued, offering £300 for the author; the printer was thrown into jail, the Grand Jury were tampered with to present the letter, and, on their refusing to do so, were dissolved in a rage by the Chief Justice, a step without a precedent, save one, which happened in the times of James II, and was followed by an immediate

censure of the House of Commons of England. Yet all that Swift had said, was that, "under God, he could be content to "depend only on the King, his Sovereign, and the laws of his "own country; that the Parliament of England had some-"times enacted laws, binding Ireland, but that obedience to "them was but the result of necessity, inasmuch as eleven men "well armed, will certainly subdue one man in his shirt, be "his cause ever so righteous, and that, by the laws of God, of "nature, and of nations, Irishmen were, and ought to be, as "free as their brethren in England." We, who live at this day, see nothing like sedition, privy conspiracy, or rebellion, in all this; and we may bless God for it; but in 1724, the case was very different. The printer was prosecuted and died in jail; Swift escaped, because it was impossible to bring it home to him, and so little were the minds of men prepared for such opinions, that, in a paper addressed to the Grand Jury, who were to sit on the bills of indictment, Swift is obliged to take shelter under past services, and admit that the words which were taken up by Government, as offensive, were the result of inadvertency and unwariness.

The famous act of the 6th of George I, Swift, with all his intrepidity, does no more than obscurely hint at; a crying testimony to the miserable depression of spirit in this country, when the last rivet, driven into her fetters, and clenched, as England hoped, forever, could not excite more than an indistinct and half-suppressed murmur.

From this brief sketch, it appears, that no prospect could be more hopeless than that the star of liberty should again arise in Ireland. If, notwithstanding the impenetrable cloud in which she seemed buried for ever, she has yet broke forth with renovated splendor, and again kindled the spirit of the people, surely it is a grand *fact*, overbearing, at once, the efforts of thousands of corrupt cavillers, who cry out that this is not a nation capable of political virtue or steady exertion.

III. *Essay on the State of Ireland in* 1790.—By T. W. Tone.

In my last essay, I took a short review of the state of Ireland, miserable, impoverished, enslaved, and contemned, as she was, 70 years ago. In that stupor of wretchedness she remain-

ed without exertion, and almost without sensation, for nearly 60 years. It is within the memory of the youngest of us, when the cup of her sorrows, filled as it was by the profuse hand of unmitigated and rancorous oppression, at length overflowed. On the instant the spell was broken, the genius of the land aroused himself, and again turned his eagle eye on the sun of liberty; he looked down on his manacles and his fetters, and they melted beneath his glance; he walked forth, glorying in his might; in his right hand he grasped the sword of resistance, in his left he held the charter of his freedom; on his head appeared the sacred helmet of the Constitution, and tyranny was appalled, and oppression withered before him.

It was in the year 1778, when the lust of power and the pride of England had engaged her in a visionary scheme of subduing the spirit of America, (a scheme which met with the fate such arrogant presumption deserved,) that the germ of the Irish revolution budded forth. It rose and spread in a grand and growing climax, from a non-importation agreement, whose object was trade, to associations of armed men, whose object was liberty. Ireland, in its need, felt only the oppression of its Government, but found no protection from it, for corruption had exhausted the funds, and tyranny had drained the force of the nation. Our armies were slaughtering their brethren in America, whilst our ports were insulted by petty and piratical incursions. The wretched rulers of the land, competent to harass, to plunder, and to insult, were unable to defend the people. We were left, fortunately left, to defend ourselves. An army of 50,000 men at once burst into existence, self-appointed, self-arrayed, self-disciplined—an army, whose principle was patriotism, whose object was their country; whose ardor was tempered by wisdom, whose valor was fortified by reflection, who were led on by the high spirit of freedom, and supported by the steady consciousness of dignified virtue. Such an army encompassed the Island as with a wall of fire. The enemy, dazzled by its brightness, or daunted by its consuming heat, ventured not to approach it; and, whilst England trembled to her centre behind the shield of her boasted navy, then flying before the fleets of France and of Spain, Ireland rested on her arms, dauntless and unterrified, with the calm confidence of unshaken valor, expecting, but not dreading the impending foe.

But it was not the invasion of a foreign enemy alone that Ireland had to fear. She saw herself robbed of her constitution, and cheated of her commerce, by England; she saw that every prosperous event in the war, was instantly followed by some direct or covert attack on her interest or her honor. The triumphs of the British, in America, few as they were, were as a necessary sequel attended by victories over Ireland in her own Senate. "*The mutiny bills were passed, and Charlestown taken.*" But the people had now felt their own strength; relying on the arms in their hands, the justice of their cause, and the goodness of their God, they demanded their trade, they demanded their constitution, from the proud and bullying English Minister, who had seized, and the corrupt and cowardly Irish Senate, who had surrendered them. The voice of the people in such a cause, is the voice of God. At a word, the power of England, in this country, was annihilated; the lofty superstructure of her tyranny, that had stood for ages, tumbled into ruins, when the sacred ark of our freedom was brought forth, and the trumpets of liberty sounded before it.

In 1782, this great and unparalleled revolution was accomplished by a complete, explicit, and final surrender on the part of Great Britain, of all right or pretension to legislate for Ireland, externally or internally. Poyning's act was modified, the appellate jurisdiction was restored, the habeas corpus law enacted, the Judges were made independent of the Crown, the mutiny bill was limited; in a word, every offensive statute was repealed, and Ireland restored to her ancient imperial hereditary rights. It was said at that time, perhaps incautiously, that no question could hereafter arise between the two countries. We have seen that assertion contradicted by experience, more than once already, and, from appearances, it is not unlikely that we may see it contradicted again.

We have now beheld Ireland in two situations not a century removed from each other; we have seen her in the most abject slavery; we see her in almost perfect freedom. What have been the causes and the means of her emancipation? Those very circumstances which the cold and the corrupt, the venal and the spiritless, deny her—public virtue, wisdom, and spirit. It is in her *people*, I would be understood to mean, that those qualities are to be found. *They* have done *their* part, and, if Ireland is

not yet completely free, they have not themselves to accuse. The very Senate to whom they gave rank and consequence; the Government to which they gave dignity, deserted and reviled, but they could not degrade them; their virtue stands, and will forever stand, a great and luminous object on the page of history. It is to ages yet unborn that the deeds of our fathers and our own will appear in their due grandeur and elevation. The object is too vast for us; we stand as pygmies at the base of the pyramids, too near to comprehend them.

But though we see not enough to duly prize the virtue, the wisdom, and the spirit of the Irish people, we yet can compare this revolution in our country with some that we have read of, and others that we have seen, and see what is the result. Was ever so great and important a change, carried nearly into completion, at least as far as the people, deserted by their Governors, could advance it, without shedding one drop of blood? Did ever, in any age or country, so many virtuous citizens concur to liberate their native land, where no individual had a view beyond the public good? Was one man enriched by the emancipation of Ireland? Was one man aggrandized, unless by the unanimous voice of his grateful and applauding countrymen? It was not a revolution of wild experiment, where all order was subverted; it was not a revolution of fanaticism, intolerance, and bigotry. It was a great and glorious exertion of steady and temperate valor, founded on the principles of strict justice, conducted by intuitive and daring wisdom, and animated by that disinterested and ardent spirit that sought no object but the common good, the common freedom, and the common glory. Such a revolution could not but succeed; to doubt its success, we should doubt the beneficence of our Creator, and the wisdom of his Providence.

After the testimony of our senses to this grand proof of the wise, the gallant, and the uncorrupted patriotism of Irishmen, let us not listen to the idle and wicked babble of those who tell us that the spirit of the nation is incapable of active and disinterested exertion for the common good. Let those who feel their own hollow incapacity, impotently endeavor to attach the vices of the individual to the character of the nation, and elude the justice of public opinion, by arraigning the tribunal before whom they must appear, but let those who feel in their own

bosoms no latent sparks of corruption and dishonor, be not disheartened by such vile and degrading sentiments. Let them remember that Ireland can never hereafter have to do so much as she has already gloriously accomplished; and let the pride of well earned fame incite them, if not to future exertion for their country's complete emancipation, at least to preserve inviolate and sacred that freedom and those benefits, which have been but just acquired by the virtue of their fathers and of themselves.

AN IRISHMAN.

IV. *Essay on the Necessity of Domestic Union*—By T. W. Tone.

It is the singular fate of this country, in which she differs from all the rest of Europe, that in writing or speaking of her Government, it is necessary to set out by proving certain principles, which are every where else received as axioms. This is the more vexatious, because, in fact, there is nothing so difficult to be proved as that kind of truth which explains itself. In every language there must be certain terms; in every science, certain principles, which are the most simple and uncompounded, and to explain these, use must be made of others less obvious and determinate. If, therefore, I should not be fortunate enough to be very clear in elucidating the subject of this essay, I beg it may be remembered, that the principles I am to develop would every where but in Ireland, be looked upon as so clear, that elucidation would be impossible, or, at least, unnecessary.

Having premised thus much, I shall venture, however it may shock the prejudices of many of my countrymen, to lay down my thesis, which is simply this: "That union amongst the people, is better for any nation than hatred and animosity." I beg I may not be supposed to assert a paradox merely to show my ingenuity, for I am seriously convinced of the truth of the above position.

Before I proceed to prove it, I shall take the liberty to borrow from mathematics one maxim, which is, by the practice of Ireland, utterly rejected, and yet is, notwithstanding, very true. I mean this: "The whole is greater than a part." I know that my antagonists may object the authority of Hesiod, who says that a part is more than the whole Νηπιος, ὁλ ισασιν οσῳ πλεον ημισυ

παντὸς." *Opera et dies, line* 40. But I answer that Hesiod was but a poet, in the first place, and in the next, we know nothing of his public principles, so that for aught that appears, he may have been a tory. This being merely an abstract point, I believe I need not be very particular in proving it. It may be sufficient to say, that as the continent must be greater than the thing contained, the whole, containing all the parts, must be greater than any one of them; and if any man is inclined to cavil or doubt my argument, let him make the experiment of a long walk with a shoe too short for his foot, and I apprehend he will feel sensibly that I am right, and become a convert to truth and reason.

My thesis, that union is better than discord, might, I should apprehend, be thought as clear and obvious as the aforesaid maxim, did not I see the conduct of the whole of one party in this nation, and a great majority of the other, regulated by maxims diametrically opposite to it. Certainly they must see some lurking fallacy at the bottom of it, which escapes the duller organs of many ardent and true well wishers to Ireland, who, with all the ingenuity, sincerity, and diligence, they can exert, have not yet been able to discover it, and of which number, I confess myself one; for I cannot suppose that they would admit the truth of the principle, and yet square their conduct by rules flatly contradictory to it, or that God has given them reason to discover it, only that they may avoid it.

There is no man in Ireland, who, if the question were put to him in general terms, would not at once admit the affirmative; I therefore shall assume that, on the abstract merits of the case, union is better than discord, and that it is in a moral, religious, and political light, a more interesting and delightful spectacle, to see men embracing in amity and love, than cutting each other's throats, or roasting each other at a stake.

I have now got through, or perhaps I should say, got over my two heads; it remains to reduce them to practice, and apply them to the situation of Ireland at this day; I therefore say, first: Our whole people consists of Catholics, Protestants, and Presbyterians, and is, therefore, greater than any one of these sects, and equal to them altogether. This being matter of fact, will probably be conceded to me; but my thesis, when referred to Ireland, being matter of opinion, and, moreover, perplexed, com-

plicated, and thwarted by all manner of interests, prejudices, passions, and every obstacle that can impede truth in its progress, will require somewhat of time, attention, and patience, to examine and ascertain it.

To prepare the way for this inquiry, the most momentous which ever came under the consideration of Ireland, it will be necessary to take a short glance at her situation, with reference to England; because I believe it will appear, that, independent of those general arguments, which apply to all countries, and which I find myself grow too serious to repeat in a ludicrous manner, there are some peculiar to herself, and those of the strongest, weightiest, most cogent, most just, and most powerful, which can influence human decision.

Ireland is a small country, connected by a mysterious bond of union with a larger, a poor country with a richer; her people are not one half so numerous, her capital in trade probably not one tenth as great, her skill and dexterity in mechanic arts, far below that of Great Britain. These would be great disadvantages, even if she were blest by an independent, and, therefore, an honest administration. But this is not, nor in the nature of things can it be, the case. She is governed by men sent from England, to do the business of England, and who hold the honors, the emoluments, the sword, and the purse of Ireland. From the situation, natural productions, and habits of the two kingdoms, there is and must be a perpetual rivalry in trade between them. Trade is regulated by laws, laws are made by Parliament, Parliament is uniformly and irresistibly swayed by Government, and the Government is English. It is easy, therefore, to see what will be the event, when the question of trade arises between Ireland and England. I believe no man will be impudent enough to deny this to be a fair state of the case; but if there be any of so hardy a forehead, I would refer him to a very recent transaction. The session before the last, our House of Commons voted £200,000 to enforce the claims of the British merchants to trade to Nootka Sound, "because the interests of both countries were the same." In the last session, an attempt was made to inquire whether, by any possibility, we could ever obtain a share of that trade, to secure which, we were so flippant with our blood and money. But we were then taught that it was extremely possible "that the interests of both

"countries might differ materially;" for the argument which stifled this unseasonable inquiry, was, "that it would interfere "with the English East India Company;" and with this answer, the Parliament and people were satisfied, as I suppose, for they yet acquiesce under it.

Considering this, therefore, merely as a question concerning the commercial interests of Ireland, there can be no doubt but that an internal union of all her people, is a grand, previous, and indispensable requisite to secure and extend the trade we have so lately extorted. England has 8,000,000 of united people, and they are free; Ireland has 4,000,000, of whom much above one half are degraded, and ought to be discontented slaves. Instead of watching the insidious arts of our Government here, we are watching each other; one party looking for advantages, contemptible if they could be obtained, and power unjust, if it could be exerted, the others so long cowed and rebuked, that they appear to have lost their spirit; the generous energies of their nature are stifled, and it is only by their figure, which the hand of foolish and wicked tyranny has been unable to deface, that they appear to be men.

The English Government here was founded, has been supported, and now exists but in the disunion of Irishmen. God forbid I should wish to see it subverted, but surely it is no bad pledge for the good conduct of rulers, that they should have a wholesome fear of the spirit of a people united in interest and sentiment. This I am sure of; that a good Government would have nothing to apprehend from such an event, as the general conciliation of the people of Ireland; and, for any other, the more general, the more determined, and the more active opposition they met with, the better for the country.

Ireland is paralytic; she is worse; she is not merely dead of one side, whilst the other is unaffected, but both are in a continual and painful and destructive struggle, consuming to waste and to destroy each other.

Mr. Printer: I am one of his Majesty's most liege subjects, a warm friend of our happy Constitution, and one who loves England better than any country upon earth, excepting only this little island of our own. Therefore, Sir, I was not a little startled the other day, when, accidentally, I met with a pamphlet, the title to which was "An inquiry how far Ireland is bound of right to embark in the impending contest, on the side of Great Britain;" for I never had a doubt, but that *Ireland* must, of necessity, be involved in every war which any *Minister of England* should think fit to make, though it was to cost us the last *shilling* in our pockets, and the last drop of *blood* in our veins; and that, even to *suppose* the contrary, would be little less wicked than *imagining* the King's death, which our law declares to be *high treason*. However, Sir, having no relish for this war with Spain, knowing that it must injure me in my business, for I am but a *weaver in the Liberty*, and God knows our business is already bad enough, I did venture to read a page or two of this same pamphlet, and, as I read it, I began to think that the notion was not altogether *treasonable;* and at length, reflecting a little longer on the subject, I brought myself to believe, that a man might not only *imagine*, but *avow* some such sentiment, without feeling his head totter on his shoulders, or dreaming at nights of *blocks* and of *axes*.

It is amazing when any old *prejudice* is battered down, what a tide of new thoughts and opinions rush into the mind, which before could never have got the smallest admittance there. I already begin to think our standing *neutral* would not only be possible and wise *for us* at the present crisis, but that it would be even for the advantage of *England* that we should do so. And as *this last* is the consideration which, I believe, will influence most, not only of the *English*, but of the *Irish*, who have any authority in our Government, and, I might add, many thousands besides, I am right glad that I have any thing to say upon this head. Indeed, if I had not, I believe I should, in despair, give up all thoughts of writing a single word on the subject. For, though to this understanding of mine it appears reasonable, that the first object with an *Irishman* should be *Ireland*, and that *England* should only be the *next*, yet, as the pre-

judice of the greater folk runs the other way, I, with many others, must submit to the will of my betters.

I know, Mr. Printer, my countrymen are a brave and fighting people, and may not readily lend an ear to any one who recommends *peace* to them, when our neighbors are at war. Nay, I feel myself, that I should be ready enough to leave my loom, and take a firelock on my shoulder, in a good cause, for my King and my country. But I remember too well the *miseries* which we all suffered in the last war, not to desire my countrymen to stop and *think;* and not run on into the present contest, hand over head, as they are too apt to do on every occasion. Let them think what a check it will give to all our *manufactures*, and what a brain blow it will be to our infant *commerce;* how many of our most industrious people it will drive to *idleness*, and *want*, and *beggary;* how much of our best *blood* it will spill, and how *little* of our *little* wealth it will leave with us, and then, perhaps, they will begin to consider what all this is for, and whether it might, in any way, be prevented? "No," people will say, "it cannot be otherwise—you know how we are "*connected* with England—it is very hard, but," &c. Now, to say that it is a *necessary consequence* of our connection with England, that we should be involved in every war *her* Ministers shall wage for her *pride*, or her *power*, or her *profit*, I hope and believe is a most foul *calumny* upon that *connection*. Devoted to the *connection*, as I am, it would grieve me to the heart, to think that such a *curse* was to be the consequence of it. And, therefore, as an honest and loyal, though poor subject to his Majesty, I set out, before I will enter into any argument on the subject, with here solemnly disclaiming, as a most *abominable heresy* against his Crown and Government, this most *pernicious* and *dangerous* doctrine, that *Ireland* is to be involved in every war which it shall please the Minister of England to make; and that *our King* has not a *right* to make terms of peace and *neutrality* for us, to keep us clear of contests we have, properly, nothing to say to, and to secure us a quiet intercourse with nations we have not offended, and which, having no fleet, we cannot offend.

Although I am no lawyer, Sir, but a poor weaver, this appears such good sense to me, that I believe it to be law, viz: That as Ireland is an imperial kingdom, the same as England, that, therefore, our King has the same *rights* in making war or peace

for Ireland, that he has for England; and that, if it should seem meet to his royal wisdom to make *terms of neutrality* for Ireland, at any time that England happened to be engaged in a foreign war, he would have a *right* to do so. I do not know what his Majesty's *great lawyers* here may say on this subject, but I know that I should be afraid that I should say something like *treason*, if I said he had *not* such a right. Then, the next thing that occurs to me is, if our King has this *right*, whether it would be *practicable* for him to make use of it in the present instance. And it seems to me not to be improbable, but that Spain, either from thinking too much or too little of us, might strike up a bargain, if such a proposal was made, and say, "Your kingdom of Ireland has done nothing to offend us. Let her take no part with England in the war, and continue her commerce with us as usual, and we shall not molest her or her merchants." And then, it appears to me that there is one consideration more, viz: That, if our King has a *right* to make terms of *neutrality* for us during the approaching war, and if it be practicable for him to do so, *whether it would be advisable for our two Houses of Parliament to address him to do so.* This I conceive to be a matter for the People and Parliament of this country religiously to consider, it being their duty to make such representations and remonstrances to our Sovereign, on this most interesting subject, as they in their wisdom may think proper.

But I should exceed the limits I have prescribed to myself for this letter, if I went into an examination of this matter now. I will, therefore, spare another day or two from my loom, and give you more of it very speedily. And, in the mean time, I entreat the good people of this country well to consider what *miseries* they suffered in the last war, and from thence determine the consequence of this subject to them. The *bread* of thousands in this town, and of tens of thousands in this country, depends upon it. I, for one, in the last war, with difficulty preserved myself and my family from the *jaws of famine;* and most of my brethren, still more wretched than myself, were brought so low, as to go *in droves a begging* about our streets, or be fed, like hounds, at public *messes*, which were got for them through charity. It must surely, then, be the wish of every man, who is not so *malignant* as to take *pleasure* in the

wringings of our hearts, to prevent our being again reduced to the same state of distress. Neither is it we, in the *Liberty* here only, who are concerned, but every weaver in the *North*, and every digger in the *South*, and every *landlord* too, who lives by the industry of these. If, therefore, I can prove, that such distress may not only be prevented during the approaching war, but that this country may be *enriched* and *benefitted* by it, to a degree which we could not by any other event have expected, I hope, Sir, that you will *print*, and that the *public* will *read*, what even I can say on this interesting subject. And, even though we were sure that it would be of some *little advantage* to England, that we should be involved with her in the approaching contest, the contrary of which I expect hereafter to prove, yet, even so, I would, with all humility, submit it to the consideration of both our Houses of Parliament, whether it would be *wise*, or *merciful*, that we should be all *sacrificed* to any such *little advantage of hers?* We *ought*, certainly, and we *do* certainly submit to a great deal for the good kingdom of England; but I trust *this occasion* will prove, that this country is not now in the deplorable state, in which it was represented to have been in the days of Swift, when, if a finger of England was sore, and it was imagined that a poultice made of the *vitals* of this country would have given it any ease, at a word it would have been done.

POEM ON THE STATE OF IRELAND.

By Sir Laurence Parsons.

HOW long, O slav'ry, shall thine iron mace
Wave o'er this isle, and crouch its abject race?
Many a dastard century we've bent
Beneath thy terrors, wretched and content,
Nor yet has Ireland done one deed, whose name
Can give a record in the rolls of fame.
What though, by virtue's trumpet late inspir'd,
Our youth stood forth, in freedom's arms attir'd,
And peal'd, in thunders, to the British shore
The ills, for ages, we ignobly bore;
'Twas a brief dream; a meteor of an hour;
Fled is that spirit; gone, its short lived pow'r.
Look all the island round, and what's display'd?
Buyers and bought, betrayers and betray'd:
Self, like a plague, through ev'ry class has ran,
Nor left one thought to dignify one man.
What though a crown imperial now we claim,
And, with the empty title, gild our shame:
In rank co-ordinate with Britain vie;
Boast Thrones and Senates, pompous pageantry;
With all the play-house trappings of a State:
Where are the acts or men which speak us great?
Who kings it here? or who our Senate rules?
Or who, yet meaner, are of these the tools?
Their merits; stations; name them man by man;
And then vaunt of your country if you can.
First a raw Peer—a creeping, unknown thing,
In England flouted at, sent here a king:
A sorry aid-de-camp, with sage conceit,
Beneath him wields the thunders of the state,
And at his feet, in humble rev'rence, crawl
Ireland's proud Nobles, Prelates, Commons, all.
O, glorious picture! Who would not be proud
To lick the dust with this right noble crowd?
To bask his crest in H—b—t's haughty rays,
Or shine in W—stm—l—d's mock-royal blaze?
To crouch to such a twain, search earth around
No other people could on earth be found
But thine, O Ireland. Then still be it thine,
In matchless, meanest thraldom still to pine.
What though, with haughty arrogance of pride,
England shall o'er this long dup'd country stride,
And lay on stripe on stripe, and shame on shame,
And brand, to all eternity, its name;
'Tis right well done: bear all, and more, I say;
Nay, ten times more; and then for more still pray.
What state in something would not foremost be?
She strives for fame; thou for servility.

The other nations of the earth, now fired
To noblest deeds, by noblest minds inspir'd,
High in the realms of glory write a name,
Wreath'd round with liberty's immortal flame:
'Tis thine to creep a path obscure, unknown,
The palm of ev'ry meanness all thy own.
"But why all this? Has nature struck this isle
"With blasting slav'ry? Is't our air? our soil?"
Search your own breast; in abject letters, there
Read why you still the tinsel'd slav'ry wear.
Though Britain, with a trembling hand, unti'd
The fetters, fashion'd in her pow'r and pride,
Still are you slaves, in baser chains entwin'd;
For, though your limbs are free, you're slaves in mind.
Imperial Ireland!—silly, taunting sound,
Say in what deed thy empire yet is found?
From either pole, unto the burning zone,
Where art thou fear'd, lov'd, hated—nay, or known?
When did the Spaniard ever dread thy name?
Or Gallia, trembling, vie with thee for fame?
Or Portugal, cut from the Spaniard's wing,
A tribute to thy conqu'ring glory bring?
Or sturdy Hollander, who, from his fen,
Banish'd the tyrant seas, and tyrant men,
And taught a proud example to our race,
How Kings and nature must to man give place,
When tow'ring virtue his high aims inspires,
Say, can he light thy breast with rival fires?
Or now, while storms of war o'er Europe low'r,
To move or stay their thunders where's thy pow'r?
Does no one wish escape thee to be great?
Or, is thy heart as petty as thy state?
If so, then rest contented, and contemn'd,
And, as you rose obscure, proceed and end;
Nor let the page of hist'ry ever flame
With one great deed, to dignify thy name.

TYRTÆUS.

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